# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-88-043* *4 March 1988*


CONTENTS


**ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT**

Polish Officer Discusses INF Implications *[PAP]* ..... 1
'Zone of Confidence' Plan Submitted to Talks *[CTK]* ..... 1
Polish Official Supports Plan *[PAP]* ..... 2

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Balkan Ministers View Belgrade Meeting *[POLITIKA 27 Feb]* ..... 3

**ALBANIA**

Press Comments on U.S. Espionage Activities *[BASHKIMI 27 Feb]* ..... 5

**BULGARIA**

Relay of Liberation Day Ceremony in Sofia ..... 6
Basic Trends Adopted for Trade, Services *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 2 Mar]* ..... 6
Seminar Held on GATT Entry in Brussels ..... 10
EEC's De Clercq Confers With Atanas Ginev ..... 11
DPRK Daily Delegation Meets Zhivkov *[Pyongyang KCNA]* ..... 11

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Charter 77 Backs Call for Religious Freedom *[AFP]* ..... 12
Many Czechs Sign Religious Petition *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 4 Mar]* ..... 12
CPCZ's Indra on Restructuring *[RUDE PRAVO 3 Mar]* ..... 12
Memory of Policemen 'Dishonored' by Vandals *[RUDE PRAVO 1 Mar]* ..... 13
Prague Radio Phone-in on Current Events ..... 13
Discussion On Babinsky Case, Implications *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Feb]* ..... 15
Chnoupek Letter on Warsaw Pact-NATO Dialogue ..... 16
USSR's Maslennikov, Delegation Depart *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Feb]* ..... 16
Husak Meets With Soviet Ambassador ..... 16

**GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

No Reason Given for Detention of Five Artists *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 17
Honecker, Church Leader Leich Hold Talks *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 17
Further Report ..... 17
Honecker Address at Premnitz Works *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 Feb]* ..... 18
Herrmann Attends Journalists' Congress ..... 21
Finnish CP Delegation Leaves for Home ..... 22
Stoph Receives Ethiopian Trade Minister ..... 22
Winter Holds Talks With African Ambassadors ..... 22

**HUNGARY**

Karoly Grosz Receives NATO Delegation ..... 23
NEPSZABADSAG Reviews Gromyko's Visit *[29 Feb]* ..... 23
Industry Minister Berecz Returns From Moscow ..... 24
Trade Trends With Soviet Union Discussed *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 23 Feb]* ..... 25
Csehak Leads Delegation to Moscow ..... 25
Marjai Receives Norwegian Official ..... 25

Marjai, Afghan Deputy Prime Minister Meet ..... 26
Kabul Reports Amin's Talks ..... 26
Youth Union Leader Returns From Talks in FRG ..... 26
MSZMP's Lukacs Tours Borsod County ..... 26
Statistical Office Releases Figures ..... 26
Health Minister on Support for Church ..... 27
Briefs ..... 27
Success of Hungarian Software ..... 27

## POLAND

Newspaper Views Walesa Passport Decision ..... 28
Sejm Motions on Property, Trade Unions ..... 28
Glowczyk Chairs PZPR Meeting on Media Issues ..... 29
Abridged 6th Plenum Document on Reform *[TRYBUNA LUDU 26 Feb]* ..... 29
Papers, FRG's Kohl Appraise NATO Summit ..... 36
Journalist Discusses Polish-Jewish Relations *[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 1 Mar]* ..... 36
Citizens Support Government Foreign Policy ..... 37
Orzechowski Concludes Thailand Visit ..... 37
Visit to Thailand, Malaysia *[cross-reference]* ..... 38
Environmental Talks With GDR, CSSR Conclude ..... 38
GDR'S Krenz Visits Piaseczno Factory ..... 38

## ROMANIA

USSR Envoy Requests Meeting With Ceausescu ..... 39
Ceausescu To Visit Guinea in Mid-March ..... 39
Further on People's Councils Conference ..... 39
Ceausescu Addresses Conference ..... 39
Ceausescu on Foreign Issues ..... 41
Correction on Romanian Agriculture Plenum ..... 42

## YUGOSLAVIA

WW II Telegram Used To Fake Waldheim Telegram ..... 43
Protest Lodged Over Arrest in Switzerland ..... 43
Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Meets Press ..... 43
Situation in Afghanistan Viewed ..... 43
Israeli Situation Worsens ..... 44
'Dynamic' Ties With USSR Lauded ..... 44
U.S.-Soviet Arms Accord Noted ..... 44
Discusses Albanian Accord ..... 44
Views Balkans Meeting ..... 44
Loncar Algerian Visit Announced ..... 45
Loncar Briefs FEC on Balkans Meeting ..... 45
Further on Official Visit of Peru's Wagner ..... 45
Received by Mikulic ..... 45
Talks With Loncar ..... 46
Armed Forces Budget Cut Strengthens Security ..... 46
LCY Commission Views Krunic Visit to Africa ..... 47
Kosovo Polje LC Discusses Grievances *[RILINDJA 27 Feb]* ..... 47
Pristina Seminar Discusses Kosovo Birthrate *[BORBA 2 Mar]* ..... 53
Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly Views Security ..... 54
Former Agrokomerc Chairman, Others Indicted ..... 55
Tool Factory Workers Hold Work Stoppage ..... 55

## Polish Officer Discusses INF Implications

*LD031724 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1419 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Warsaw, 3 March: PAP's reporter interviewed representative of the Polish Army's General Staff Col. Dr. Tadeusz Cepak on the impact of the treaty liquidating intermediate and shorter ranged missiles in Europe on Poland's security. The colonel said inter alia:

Following the many-year efforts, stopped has been the dangerous or outright fatal syndrome of action and counteraction which brought on to stockpiling upwards of 50 thousand nuclear warheads since 1945.

In the category of actual dangers, one cannot oversee what is represented by the nuclear potential which is not covered by the treaty, that is the strategic offensive weapons, all the elements of the developed strategic triad of the U.S. for Poland, for the Warsaw Treaty states, these are the American, French and British missiles and strategic air force, kept up in a high degree of preparedness for action. We are anxious over the overwhelming preponderance of the NATO naval forces equipped with the Tomahawks which can be launched from submarines and surface ships, submarine-carried ballistic missiles, over carrier air force [as received] representing a big fighting potential.

A separate source of these dangers results from the NATO's large numerical preponderance of the short-ranged striking air force over the Warsaw Treaty's forces. Moreover the West would like to preserve the tactical nuclear weapons and clamours for compensating these missiles which have not been dismantled yet.

One of the more modest variants of the U.S. "Plan for the United Strategic Operations" envisaged launching more than 7,000 nuclear weapons to destroy upwards of 8,700 nuclear, military installations, as well command posts and industrial and economic centres on the Soviet territory. In so doing, it was assumed that the assault on the strategic targets in the Soviet Union might entail loss of from 25 to 34 million human lives.

Another variant envisaged a rocket attack on 1,500 similar installations in Poland. If the intermediate missiles disappear then their role will be taken over by strategic weapons, the naval and tactical air forces. So, the sources of the real threat will not cease to exist.

Asked whether there is a chance to completely free humankind from these weapons, Col Cepak said:

Such an intention and readiness are provided, among other things, by the Gorbachev plan of 1986. Ridding mankind of these weapons will not be easy, but it becomes necessary for all reasons.

As for Poland, even if a reduction of the U.S. missiles will cut the aforesaid number of installations down to 750, then each of our voivodships will continue having an average of 15 installations which will be still endangered.

The declaration by Western politicians that war should be eliminated from the practice of inter-state relations, that peace pillars of European security should be built up, that the level of military confrontation should be brought down and that offensive components of war potential should be eliminated, will remain but illusive words if there is not actual effort and political will in the main West European states to renounce nuclear weapons and strategy of deterrence. The NATO summit meeting upholds this strategy. More, some of the states revive the dreams of a nuclear might.

France and Britain resist everything that could limit and stem the modernization of their nuclear forces today.

The polling of the FRG's economic might and the Bundeswehr with France's growing nuclear potential creates a West European military superpower. And the recently formulated postulates by a group of American politicians to augment the atom role of France and Britain in the so-called defence of Atlantic alliance are nothing else but an attempt to step up the threat. All of that will be undermining the security foundations and increasing the sense of uncertainty, being contrary to the common striving for European security and order and inconsistent with the requirements for building structures of mutual confidence.

The sense of one's own security must be based on the realities by us, Col. Cepak concluded.

## 'Zone of Confidence' Plan Submitted to Talks

*LD031458 Prague CTK in English*
*1235 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Vienna March 3 (CTK correspondent)—The proposal of Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes for the establishment of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the line dividing Warsaw Treaty and NATO states was submitted today to the Vienna talks on disarmament in Central Europe.

Head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the talks Ludek Handl informed the participants in the talks of the main ideas of the proposal, stressing that Czechoslovakia supports a comprehensive approach in the military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian spheres. In the military sphere it proposes a gradual establishment of a "diluted" zone in which the level of military confrontation would be reduced. As regards the other fields, the proposal regards them as occasions for developing a political dialogue and all round mutually advantageous cooperation, removing obstacles and solving surviving problems.

Spokesman of the Czechoslovak delegation Jozef Sestak dealt with certain military aspects of the proposal at a news conference. He said the proposal included the withdrawal of the most dangerous kinds of offensive weapons from the zone, of the solution of the question of nuclear infrastructure, and added that the measures are aimed at reducing the military confrontation, averting the threat of a surprise attack and strengthening confidence.

### Polish Official Supports Plan

*LD032333 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1914 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—Acting minister of foreign affairs, Vice-Minister Henryk Jaroszek received on Thursday the ambassador of Czechoslovakia to Poland, who handed over the text of Czechoslovakia's proposal on the establishment of a zone of confidence and cooperation on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states. The initiative was forwarded by General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Milos Jakes in Prague last Feb. 24.

Jaroszek assured the ambassador of the Polish side's support for the initiative and stressed that Poland considered it a significant contribution to the peace proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

The two sides stated that both current Czechoslovak initiative and the Jaruzelski Plan were important elements of the foreign policy pursued by both states and of the joint activities of the Warsaw Treaty for the creation of the conditions for lasting security in Europe.

## Balkan Ministers View Belgrade Meeting

*AU031401 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 88 p 3*

[Unattributed reports under the banner: "Special Announcements by the Balkan Ministers to POLITIKA"]

[Text] Karolos Papoulias: We Have Disappointed the Pessimists [subhead]

We have got a very good joint communique. We have adopted the best possible final document. We have fulfilled the best aim at this first historic meeting of foreign ministers from the Balkan countries. This is a very important beginning, with one great "handicap," the fact that we have all suddenly found ourselves together, not at the beginning, but halfway along the road that we should travel in order to reach ideal cooperation in the Balkans.

The pessimists who thought that the problems that divide us would play an important role were disappointed. Of course, these problems exist, but we have identified them and put them to one side.

We have said that we must strengthen our cooperation.

We have also found practical ways to strengthen this cooperation. With the recreation of a climate of trust that will give its stamp to this cooperation, I am sure that we will overcome all the current bilateral problems that exist between us.

The next step will be the meeting in Sofia that will study all the proposals that were put forward here.

As Karolos Papoulias concludes in his introductory speech:

"My country is guided in the Balkans by its long and continuous tradition, which bears witness to its adherence to the road to Balkan cooperation."

Reis Malile: Albania Sincerely Wants to Contribute to Cooperation [subhead]

"We came to Belgrade with the sincere wish to contribute to better cooperation and understanding in the Balkans, and to the creation of a positive atmosphere. We were warmly welcomed here, for which we are grateful. We are satisfied with the meeting, although we can give an appraisal of it only on the basis of results. We hope that the proposals put forward at this meeting will not remain just on paper. The problems of the Balkans are not small, nor lightweight, but we consider that the exchange of ministers' views can serve as the basis for the beginning of their solution.

"Albania wants good relations with Yugoslavia. We have always wanted our minorities to serve as a bridge for our relations.

"The development of relations with neighboring countries is one of Albania's priorities," stressed the minister, mentioning what he had already emphasized in his speech: "We respect others, but we want them also to respect our rights as a nation and state. Therefore, Albania is not scared of cooperation, because it considers cooperation a factor that will contribute to its internal development. Such cooperation must be equal and in the interests of both sides and should not be allowed to affect the sovereignty and social structure of a country."

Ioan Totu: A Great Step in the Further Development of Our Cooperation [subhead]

"The meeting was a great step toward the establishment of multifaceted cooperation and the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans. We are satisfied. There were different views and conceptions of cooperation but, in the end, we agreed, as we had achieved a good working atmosphere.

"For my part, I would like to congratulate the presiding host, Comrade Loncar, on his work that provided the most suitable intellectual frameworks and that succeeded in bringing this important meeting to a very successful close. I also congratulate Comrade Dizdarevic, who set this initiative in motion and who worked on it for a long time. All of us also owe our thanks to the SFRY Presidency, which provided us with excellent working conditions.

"We have taken a great step in the development of our further cooperation. It is clear that we all want to turn the Balkans into a zone of peaceful cooperation so that it will be an example for the whole world. We have surely created a road toward mutual trust. We have agreed to look to the future from a joint Balkan perspective. Of course, we have agreed that our relations and cooperation should be a part of European and international relations," said Romanian Minister, Ioan Totu.

The Romanian minister also pointed to the great benefit of bilateral contacts here in Belgrade: "It is well-known that we have had many of these, not counting the frequent 5-minute meetings. In a word, I would say, finally, that there is the general conviction that we have entered a new phase of inter-Balkan relations," said Ioan Totu.

Mesut Yilmaz: We Look to the Future From a Joint Perspective [subhead]

We have expressed our satisfaction with the climate of cooperation and good intentions that all the participating countries have shown. We hope that such a climate will be developed further in the future.

We are very satisfied with the results of this conference. They have gone beyond our expectations.

This is the way toward mutual trust. We agreed to look to the future from a joint Balkan perspective. There is no doubt that there is a broad spectrum of possibilities for our links and cooperation.

Mesut Yilmaz also stressed that better relations can be created in a milieu in which special importance was given to humanitarian issues, because the ultimate aim is the creation of a zone of friendship, mutual trust, and good-neighborliness.

In this context, the minister pointed out in all announcements the important stimulus which comes from the Turkish-Bulgarian protocol on the final solution of problems between Ankara and Sofia, which the two countries signed in Belgrade on 23 February: "This does not mean that we have automatically solved all the problems. Negotiations toward that end will last for quite a long time, but we hope that all contentious issues will be gradually solved through patient negotiation.

"Cooperation in the Balkans would be incomplete if we did not make more effort to understand the problems concerning security. This is now being rapidly dealt with in the world. The best example of this is the agreement on the elimination of one category of nuclear weapons that was signed by the two superpowers, which is definitely a historic event. However, seen from the perspective of everything that we put into motion in Belgrade, even our meeting could be called historic," said Turkish Minister, Mesut Yilmaz.

Petur Mladenov: The People Want a Balkans Without Passports [subhead]

"If there is no understanding, we have no other alternative. We have been neighbors for a long time. We want friendship. We have constructed the mechanism, now it must be put into operation. We can cooperate, to be an example for the whole world. Our peoples would like to cross borders without needing passports, not in the distant future, but immediately. We as politicians must turn our attention to fulfilling this and other wishes of the people. The possibilities for such good relations are diverse. With this meeting in Belgrade, which ended successfully and at which we achieved more than was expected, we have taken on the great responsibility to raise the level of our relations in our further political and other contacts to a level that would suit everyone.

"Bulgaria is still striving for good-neighborliness and understanding. The Balkans' reputation as a "powder keg" is not indestructible. In world terms the situation is favorable to us. There are new realities, which I talked about at the meeting. There is a new political thinking. This enables us to look at the world in all its diversity and to understand it in its complexity, and more specifically, in its interwoven relationships.

"We should now get down to work. The Balkans needs understanding, goodwill, cooperation, and good-neighborliness. Yugoslavia has shown itself to be an excellent host. I expect that our subsequent meetings, of which there will be more than up until now, will take place in this atmosphere.

"The constructive spirit that we have all shown is the most significant aspect for me."

## Press Comments on U.S. Espionage Activities

*AU031527 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian*
*27 Feb 88 p 4*

[Arben Ruka article: "An Electronic Eye on the World"]

[Text] When some journalists asked a high CIA official whether the American espionage agency spied on allies or not, he laconically replied, "It does not surprise me that we spy on our friends. The only thing a spy, ours or anybody else's, can be blamed for is being caught red-handed." This is the "famous morality of U.S. 'friendship' toward its allies."

Washington has created enormous agencies to pry into and spy upon American citizens and people and political groups throughout the world. Apart from the notorious CIA, the National Security Agency, whose existence became known only a few years ago, has also been operating since 1952. Two hundred thousand political analysts and technicians work there. They spy on everything that can be received by powerful computerized antennae. According to the Western press, it produces 24 tons of paper every day, full of all kinds of information, and 10,000 translators of every language and dialect in the world work for this agency of darkness.

Monitoring points have been created at American bases throughout the world. Even American embassies are equipped with the antennae of this agency. Various satellites have been launched into orbit, purely for the purpose of spying. They are able not only to listen, but to see, and their eyes are no less sharp than their ears. The National Security Agency can spy on everything. It collects the data and then passes it to the CIA, which deals with the physical or moral lynching of its victims. It is as if our entire planet were bound by electronic shackles which close on you as soon as you oppose American policy. The National Security Agency is interested in everything concerning the allies: the areas where troops are stationed, the capabilities and kinds of weapons they use, communications, the private lives of politicians of "friendly" countries and the extent of their influence, the sources from which they obtain funds for electoral campaigns, and so forth. These data are passed on to the intelligence services of the Army and the CIA, who then strike at Washington's political opponents in the most varied ways, as in the recent case of the chief of staff of the Panamanian Army, Antonio Noriega, who publicly demanded the removal of American bases from his country because they violated the sovereignty of Panama. Almost at the same time as his statement, the CIA accused Noriega of "protecting the drug trade" and demanded his resignation.

American espionage eavesdrops on everything in order to respond whenever "Washington's essential interests" are affected. Meanwhile American weapons and dollars support the dictators, whose crimes all the world knows. American "justice" seeks to lay down the law according to the principle that he who does what I say is a good man.

## Relay of Liberation Day Ceremony in Sofia

AU031736 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1600 GMT on 3 March begins a live relay of a solemn wreath-laying ceremony and military tattoo before the Memorial to the Brother-Liberators in the National Assembly Square in Sofia.

Reporter Tsveti Gerov describes the scene in the crowded square, where the people of Sofia, guests, and people from other parts of Bulgaria have gathered to pay homage "to the feats of the Russian soldiers, volunteers, revival figures, fiery revolutionaries, and legendary generals" on the 110th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman yoke.

Gerov announces that the tattoo-parade is beginning with the marching into the square of a guards column bearing the banners of battle honors won in the liberation struggle. A military band is heard playing a march.

At 1603 GMT two orators, a man and a woman, proclaim the names of the Russian regimental banners and banners of Bulgarian fighters and volunteers of the 1876-78 period that are being presented at the memorial.

At 1607 GMT Gerov states that the following persons are taking part in the wreath-laying ceremony at the Liberators' Memorial: "Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Stanko Todorov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stoyanov: leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations in Sofia; and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army." Gerov adds: "Also present are Leonid Grekov, the Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria; Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army; Major Gen Givi Ordzhonikidze, military, naval, and air attache at the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria; and other officials." He notes that the wreaths laid are from the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, National Assembly, Council of Ministers, and other state and public organizations.

At 1609 GMT the military tattoo is heard to commence. Gerov states that the parade is under the command of Lieutenant Col Ivan Nikolov, who is making his report to Major General Lyuben Petrov. The parade continues with different detachments loudly cheering the 110th liberation anniversary. At 1614 GMT the two orators read out the roll of honor, reciting the names of Russian, Bulgarian and other soldiers, and fighting heroes who laid down their lives in the liberation struggle of 1976-78. The wreaths are then laid at the memorial to a funeral march.

At 1627 the band strikes up a march to begin the tattoo. Lt Col Nikolov, in charge of the parade, calls upon the soldiers to successively cheer "the victories of the Bulgarian People's Army"; "the indestructible unity of the Warsaw Pact Armies"; "the great, invincible Soviet Army"; and "the heroic BCP, organizer and leader of all our successes and victories". The Bulgarian national anthem is then played.

The live relay ends at 1632 GMT.

## Basic Trends Adopted for Trade, Services

*AU031721 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian*
*2 Mar 88 pp 1, 2*

["Basic Trends for Restructuring Domestic Trade and Services adopted by the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee"—date not specified; boldfaced passages as published]

[Text] The implementation of the BCP July plenum concept on a qualitatively new development of socialism in Bulgaria requires a thorough restructuring process in the sphere of trade and services.

Domestic trade activities under the conditions of expanding commodity-money relationships is of great importance for the further implementation of the trend toward a qualitatively new growth and for our social policy. The comprehensive and timely satisfaction of the needs of the people depends, to a great extent, upon the situation of the domestic market for goods and services. Restructuring in this sphere should be accomplished in accordance with the basic principles of the July plenum concept, according to which:

—socialist property is uniform and indivisible and all its varied forms of property—state, cooperative, communal, private, and mixed property—are based on equal rights;

—The objects of socialist property are transferred to the labor collectives and territorial communities for management and administration. The collectives and communities are invested with all rights, obligations, and responsibilities enabling them to develop their fully-fledged activities;

—the state organs are exerting their functions pertaining to the strategic leadership of the national economy primarily through economic methods and means;

—the economic organizations and territorial communities of the population are implementing their comprehensive work on the basis of socialist self-management. The new model for the development of domestic trade and services, basing itself on the general principles laid down in the July plenum concept on the development of socialism in our country, must take into consideration the specific principles existing in this sphere.

This means:

—the socialist commodity producer should establish direct contacts with the market and produce for the market, he should promptly react to the direct influence of the market;

—all forms of trade—state, cooperative, communal, private, and mixed forms—and all trade objects should be subjected to equal economic, legal, and social conditions;

—the labor collective in every trading establishment, after accepting socialist property for management and administration, and after turning into a primary self-managing unit, should work on the basis of economic accountability; the collective should obtain its income solely on the basis of the results of its trade activities; it should utilize the basic funds granted to it on lease; it should purchase and sell goods and services, without any restrictions; it should be granted the unlimited right of freely associating with commodity producers, with other trade organizations, and so forth;

—competition between commodity producers and tradesmen should be encouraged in order to satisfy the market's and the consumers' needs for goods and services;

—territorial and other self-managing communities should have the necessary rights and the chief responsibility in organizing any kind of activity connected with the satisfaction of the people's needs for goods and services.

The total implementation of this model should be aimed at **the improvement of the people's living standard, toward the development of the individual as a worker, producer of goods, and as a consumer.**

All this makes it necessary that restructuring in domestic trade and services should be implemented along the following lines:

**1. The satisfaction of market needs should become the main essence of restructuring in the work of commodity producers and the main criterion in evaluating this work.**

In the future **commodity producers must be mainly responsible for satisfying the needs** of the working people. Not only the producers of consumer goods, but also economic organizations engaged in the output of production means, should assume this responsibility.

It is necessary that commodity producers should assume the following **rights and obligations** under the newly created conditions:

—they should make a direct and unrestricted entry into the domestic market, regardless of any forms of property, regardless of their territorial and branch affiliation; they should be entitled to open their own stores and chain stores, or if they prefer, they may exert their trade activities through specialized trade organizations. In this connection all superfluous links between the producer and the consumer should be eliminated.

—To develop their relations with the consumers on aneconomic and contractual basis. No producer is to have the right to decline an order or a contract for the subject of his activity and his production capacity. The drawing up and fulfillment of the plans of every economic organization are to begin and end with the market.

—To investigate and satisfy the population's growing and changing requirements for goods and services. To develop their production capacities, ensuring that the production of goods and services runs ahead of the population's purchasing power.

—To promote the development of new requirements and the formation of a progressive structure and quality of consumption.

—To watch the performance [povedenie] of the products in the hands of the consumer. To guarantee the technical servicing of the products and the necessary spare parts for maintaining and fully utilizing durable goods.

The commercial banks, especially the Bank for Economic Initiatives and the Agricultural and Cooperative Bank, are to encourage, through credits, attracting foreign investments, and by means of joint enterprises, the expansion of production, widening of the range of products, and improvement of the quality and trading of consumer goods, as well as the production and availability of services.

**2. Radical changes are needed in the system of the trade organizations.**

A key issue in restructuring domestic trade and services is to turn the stores, public catering establishments, shops for services, warehouses, etc. into primary **self-managing units.**

The self-managing units in trade and services should **operate on the economic accountability principle.** Every trading collective should be able to freely purchase and sell its goods where it wishes; to look after the delivery of the goods to the store; to make depreciation or rental payments for the basic funds granted to it **on lease**; to distribute the income obtained in accordance with the general regulations of the economic mechanism; and to concern itself with the development of its own base.

It is necessary for the objects of socialist property in trade and services **to be placed under the management and administration** of the primary labor collectives or individual citizens or families.

**The piecework system**—brigade, group, family, or individual—**should be a basic system for the organization and payment** of labor in the trading establishments handed over to management. The incomes of the members of the labor collective should be related to the goods turnover and the quality of the trading services.

Under the new conditions the labor collectives in trade and services should possess the right, on a voluntary and economic basis, **to form associations** among themselves, with the goods producers, and others **without territorial and departmental restrictions.**

At the same time, **socialist competition is to develop between all** those taking part in trading activities.

**The campaign to win over the consumer should become an issue of direct economic interest** to every trading establishment.

In order to provide comprehensive services to the population and to achieve high socioeconomic efficiency in the sphere of domestic trade and services, it is necessary to create **production-trading or trading chains**: furniture stores, fast food shops, department stores, supermarkets, clothing and footwear stores, "do-it-yourself" shops, leisure, sports, and tourist goods, and so on. At the same time, nationwide organizations for trade and services should be set up, similar to the existing Automobile Parts, Book Distribution, Drug Store, and other national chains. This does not mean that other trading organizations may not also deal in similar products and services. It is a principal task of the trading organizations to meet the population's requirements for goods and services, providing a high standard of service and ensuring the minimum waste of time. Through evaluating the market, the trading organizations should stimulate the renewal and structural reorganization of production, and the development and improvement of the quality, quantity, and variety of the goods and services offered.

In trade and services, just as in the other spheres, **all forms of socialist property—state, cooperative, municipal, individual, and mixed—should develop from a basis of equal rights.** Here too the criterion for using a given form of property should be its effectiveness in flexibly meeting the population's needs, with a high standard of quality.

The trading organizations, irrespective of the form of property, should have the right to conduct trade and provide services **in the territories of all oblasts and municipalities without restriction**, and also to enter into direct links on an economic basis with **all goods producers.**

The trading organizations must have the right to **make a bold entry into the territory of production**, organizing themselves the production of goods and services and participating in joint enterprises with the goods producers and commercial banks.

The trading organizations should organize and implement the movement, storage, processing, and preparation of goods, and offer **goods and services where the consumer is—at his place of residence and work.** It is their task to preserve and increase the consumer value of goods and services, to offer them where they are needed, and to comprehensively manage the marketing of goods and services. They should assist in achieving a dynamic balancing of the "commodity-money" relationship and play the role of regulators of supply and demand.

**The labor-producer cooperatives** must receive a new impulse in their development, **to reestablish their true cooperative character and to encourage the creation of new cooperatives.** It is necessary to form a cooperative union of the craftsmen in the country, to build up a wide network of branch cooperatives for the production of goods and services for the population, and to create modern cooperative markets in the form of self-managing enterprises or associations.

It is necessary to set up **specialized wholesale trading organizations of a new type** as market bodies. These are to be entirely dependent on the market and are to operate for the market.

The wholesale trading organizations should function on an economic basis, organizing special **commodity exchanges.** Their regional warehouses should be open, with every purchaser, producer, importer, and exporter having access to them. They should establish direct links with the goods producers and other trading organizations without any departmental, territorial, branch, or other restrictions whatsoever.

The wholesale trading organizations are to have the right to develop **ancillary types of production** for additional commercial processing of the goods being sold, for packaging, and for the manufacture of trading equipment, to organize the servicing of the goods sold, and so on.

They are to have the right, on a self-supporting foreign exchange basis and, in individual cases, by using foreign exchange provided by the state, to export, import, and exchange goods required for the domestic market.

All this means that **the specialized wholesale trading organizations are to become national bodies balancing the relevant locally produced and imported commodity groups.** They are to be responsible for the uniform movement of the goods flow in the country and for the distribution of goods in short supply; for the state of the market, giving timely warnings to the producers, pricing organs, and national planning organs; and for the organization of market research on demand, the range and structure of consumption, and the requirements relating to goods quality in accordance with world-wide trends.

3. In order to successfully conduct a flexible trading policy for meeting the population's needs for various goods, **the goods producers and trading organizations must utilize cooperation with other countries and firms on a wide basis.** They are to form associations in production and trade, including through the creation of joint enterprises and mixed or company-owned stores of foreign firms in Bulgaria. They are to enrich and diversify the market, including through importing and exchanging goods for personal consumption from the socialist countries, developing countries, leading world firms, etc., while the income obtained from these operations is to remain at the disposal of goods producers and trading organizations.

In accordance with the conditions and prospects for developing tourism, trading centers are to be set up, especially in the vicinity of main roads and border crossing points, with the participation of world trading firms. These centers are to operate according to a catalogue system, by mail order, and so on.

**4. The trading organizations and service enterprises are to carry out their activities on an economic basis.** Special attention should be paid to improving the system of price forming; more active use is to be made of trading discounts and bonuses, taxes, customs tariffs, contributions to the budget, and so on; and stimulation is to be provided for efficiently using and renewing the material technical base, for expanding competition between the trading organizations, and for promoting interest among merchants in going to the consumers and in drawing closer to the people's homes, even in the smallest villages and in remote areas.

The economic levers must ensure unlimited opportunities for developing the form of trading that best meets the people's needs.

Timely trading maintenance and services for the population require that a new system be set up for **training trade cadres.** These cadres must master the art of modern trading. All the economic organizations that engage in trade must make the training of the trade cadres their primary concern. At the same time, a new system must be set up at a national level for selecting, developing, training, postgraduate specialization, and professional training of the trading cadres.

**5. The introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in trading activity is an important direction in restructuring the organization and management of trade.**

The technological base and organization of trade and services is to be built up, with the broad introduction of integrated mechanization, automation, and electronics and the development of modern data systems.

It is necessary, without delay, to develop production capacities for modern packaging, highly automated warehousing and cool store facilities, specialized transportation, pallet-container systems, modern control and measuring apparatus, and so on. Systems should be introduced for the electronic processing of sales, goods inventories, for the daily accounting of goods turnover and consumer demand which relate to groups of commodities, individual products, types and dimensions, and so on.

6. Under the conditions of self-management and of expanding and diversifying the forms and structure of trading activity, it is necessary to introduce substantial **changes in the state management** of domestic trade and services.

The center **of gravity in coordinating and organizing trading activity and services must be transferred to the municipalities and townships.** They must create conditions for expanding the activity of the enterprises, cooperatives, and the individual labor activity of citizens for additional production of goods and services, for building regional department stores, municipal and intermunicipal associations and cooperatives, supermarkets, warehouses, cooperative markets, vegetable and other goods exchanges, fairs, auctions, and so on.

Every municipality is to develop its own trading and market policy.

Through widely opening up the municipalities to the oblast and through cooperation between the municipalities, an active policy of meeting local needs from local resources is to be conducted on a territorial scale.

**The oblast should direct and coordinate the activities of the municipalities in order to establish an efficient territorial organization of trade and services** and in order to build up basic, structure-determining establishments of inter-municipal and inter-okrug importance.

Along with the development of productive forces, through the establishment of a material base of trade and services in municipalities, the oblast should contribute to the creation of equal living conditions in all inhabited settlements and to the alleviation of migration processes.

Within the framework of national strategy **the oblast should develop its own policy** for the purpose of: developing production of industrial and agricultural goods for the population, including by enterprises engaged in the output of production means; developing a self-sufficiency system as well as the collective and private initiatives of citizens in producing goods and providing services; widely using opportunities for cooperation in the exchange of goods and services with the individual republics and oblasts in the USSR, as well as with regions and towns in socialist and other countries.

Under the new conditions, the Domestic Trade and Services Association will no longer be necessary. The self-managing organizations which are members of this association should join other associations, the Central Cooperative Union, and the municipal people's councils.

**The state functions of leadership in the domestic trade and services sector** should be restricted to strategic planning and leadership of domestic trade and services.

The Ministry of Economy and Planning should implement functions connected with the compilation of national balances and strategic planning.

Under the circumstances of extensive rights and independence of economic organizations it becomes necessary for the state to settle the correlation between quotas for export goods and the supply of domestic markets. State strategy regarding the implementation of this function and the establishment of rules and norms, the necessary operative coordination, the implementation of state control in the sphere of trade and services, and state leadership in restructuring the system should be adopted and implemented by the Ministry of Economy and Planning.

It would be expedient to establish a **Chamber of Commerce** in our country as well, that would be in charge of organizing a system of market centers, stock exchanges of goods, as well as permanently acting auctions, consulting bureaus, and marketing research centers, advertizing agencies, and others, in charge of establishing a system of permanent trade fairs and exhibitions, and in charge of contributing to the settlement of economic disputes among members, and so forth.

**A nationwide information system on the state of the domestic market and on the existence and fluctuation of commodity funds** should be established. The system should function on an economic basis and serve all economic, territorial, and public organs and organizations. Various contemporary forms of information services to the population should be developed.

It is necessary to establish **consumers' councils** as public organs in charge of assuming functions in connection with the defense of consumers' interests.

The following rights should be granted to consumers'councils:

—the right to submit proposals on improving trade services, diversifying the range of goods, on the quality of goods and services;

—to exert control against abuses, including abuse of the monopoly of commodity producers and tradesmen;

—to warrant investigations on part of the national control systems;

—to submit cases of established violations and misappropriations to the investigating organs, prosecuting organs, and courts of law;

—to submit questions concerning political responsibility for violations to the sociopolitical organs, and so forth.

The questions submitted by consumers' councils should be discussed by the state organs and sociopolitical organizations on an obligatory basis.

Restructuring the organization and management of domestic trade and services is an important measure, not only from the economic, but also from the social, political, and ideological points of view. It affects all commodity producers and all trade organizations, as well as all working people.

It is necessary to stress that the adoption of this decision is no more than the beginning of a process which is being gradually implemented. The immediate task is to increase production and supply the market with consumer goods and services, as well as to **permanently improve the relationship between the available commodity funds and the people's purchasing power.**

It is necessary for the Council of Ministers to adopt extensive normative decisions.

The party organs and organizations must be in the frontranks of the struggle for restructuring. In coping with these tasks our society will rely on the active participation of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], the Fatherland Front, the Trade Unions, and the Dimitrov Komsomol.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo expresses its confidence that this task will be adopted by all Communists, by the entire people as a vital necessity for the achievement of a new life quality for millions of working people in our country.

## Seminar Held on GATT Entry in Brussels

*AU031932 Sofia BTA in English*
*1850 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Brussels, March 3 (BTA correspondent)—A seminar on Bulgaria's accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was held here yesterday. It was organised by the Belgian Royal Institute of International Relations in cooperation with the Bulgarian Ministry of the Economy and Planning.

Bulgarian economics and finance experts delivered reports on the development of the Bulgarian economy and foreign trade and on the status of the enterprises in the conditions of the economic reform under way in this country. They outlined the highlights in Bulgaria's approach to GATT membership.

For their part, some prominent Belgian businessmen spoke about the general problems of joining the major international economic organisations and expressed their views on the Europe-wide economic implications of Bulgaria's accession to GATT.

The business community in Belgium and in the other Common Market countries showed considerable interest in the seminar.

### EEC's De Clercq Confers With Atanas Ginev

*AU031930 Sofia BTA in English*
*1845 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Brussels, March 3 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Willy de Clercq, the EC commissioner for external relations and trade policy, conferred at the EC Commission with Mr Atanas Ginev, a deputy minister at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, who is in Brussels for the seminar on Bulgaria's accession to GATT, held here yesterday.

The two exchanged views on the state of relations between the European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. They agreed that a date should be set as soon as possible for the beginning of the third round of pourparler talks on a settlement of bilateral relations between Bulgaria and the EC.

They also discussed some questions concerning Bulgaria's application for membership in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

### DPRK Daily Delegation Meets Zhivkov

*SK030513 Pyongyang KCNA in English*
*0458 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Pyongyang March 3 (KCNA)—Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, met with the MINJU CHOSON delegation headed by its editor-in-chief Kim Chong-sok on February 29.

He said: Comrade Kim Il-song is the most outstanding leader of the communist movement. I value intimacy forged with him very much and the friendship between the two countries is particular for it.

The Korean people are achieving brilliant successes in socialist construction under the leadership of respected Comrade Kim Il-song and Comrade Kim Chong-il. The most important thing is the firm and solid unity and cohesion of the party and the people.

He expressed full support and solidarity with the proposal for the reunification of the country advanced by Comrade Kim Il-song and with the Korean people in the struggle for its realisation.

### Charter 77 Backs Call for Religious Freedom

*AU032021 Paris AFP in English*
*2007 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Prague, March 3 (AFP)—The Czechoslovak human rights group Charter 77 on Thursday [3 March] backed a recent nationwide petition for religious freedom in the country which church sources say 400,000 people have signed.

Spokesmen for Charter 77 bemoaned the fact that the Czechoslovak Government had reacted by discrediting the creators of the initiative when it was the "justified position of hundreds of thousands of citizens."

The 31-point petition demands a halt to state interference in church affairs.

Charter 77 made a similar call Thursday for a separation of church and state.

"We believe it is time to take a more constructive position for settlement of one of the fundamental problems in our society," the group said.

### Many Czechs Sign Religious Petition

*AU041210 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German*
*4 Mar 88 p 2*

[Text] In spite of harassment, 350,00 Czechs have already signed a 31-point petition calling for religious freedom.

### CPCZ's Indra on Restructuring

*LD031230 Prague CTK in English*
*1050 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Prague March 3 (CTK)—The policy of general restructuring of the life of Czechoslovak society—the fundamental changes in the economic mechanism and deepening of socialist democracy—is a continuation of socialist revolution, its new stage in which quantity turns into quality, Alois Indra said in RUDE PRAVO today.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Federal Assembly chairman said that "we highly appreciate the inspiring role of the Soviet Communist Party, carefully watch the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and try to make use of them. But this is no mechanical imitation or automatic acceptance of ready recipes. It is a creative approach to developments in the countries of our friends."

He stressed that "respecting national peculiarities means primarily taking a lesson from our own history, taking a critical look at mistakes and shortcomings and not rejecting its individual periods as such, and holding in esteem the experience of the previous and contemporary generations. For this reason, too, we emphasize the permanent validity of the 'lesson drawn from the crisis-ridden development in the party and society after the 13th congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party'. It is a document whose significance grows as times go by. It shows very clearly how it happened that socialism in Czechoslovakia was dangerously threatened twenty years after the February victory of the working people."

Alois Indra further pointed to the attempts of bourgeois journalists to present the 1968 "Czechoslovak economic reform" as a prefiguration of the current fundamental changes in the management and planning of the Soviet economy and described these claims as too superficial and simplified.

Recapitulating the internal political development in Czechoslovakia in 1968, he stressed that the rightist forces used the economic reform as an instrument for their power-political struggle against the Czechoslovak Communist Party and for slandering the results of twenty years of work of millions of honest people.

"They did not respect the congress resolutions, they wanted to separate the Czechoslovak Communist Party from the economy, to deny to it the role of the center of cognition, to deprive it of the right of the leading political force and to leave the socialist economy to the mercy of the uncontrolled influence of the market. What a colossal difference there is between the activities of the rightists in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet economic reform or the restructuring of our economic mechanism", Alois Indra stressed.

"Utmost hypocrisy is when the 'reformers' of the late sixties are described by some people as consistent 'internationalists' or even as 'loyal friends of the Soviet Union'. All these are only vain attempts to refute with empty words facts revealed in the Lesson. Too much has been recorded in black and white to deny antiSovietism fomented by the rightist officials and workers of the mass media with the blessing (or at least without energetic opposition) of the then first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party", Alois Indra wrote.

"It is a valid theorem of socialism that: Like the Communist Party like the society. The activity of the party leadership after the January session in 1968 is convincingly assessed in the lesson: The Presidium and especially the then first secretary of the Central Committee cannot be rid of responsibility for the fact that the party was unable to fulfill its tasks, that it lost its political initiative and ceased to fulfill the role of the leading political force. The storming rightists and enemies of socialism supported Alexander Dubcek' but in fact they made him a symbol of subversive activity. It would be naive to claim that the Czechoslovak Communist Party (at least from the turn of February and March 1968) did 'manage' anything. The party Presidium held endless 'general' debates—most often without a concrete conclusion, and if a resolution was adopted it was not respected even by some Presidium members, not to speak of the mass media workers", Alois Indra pointed out.

A textbook example of the inability of action of the party leadership and of hesitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party first secretary were the events around the publication of the counterrevolutionary manifesto "2000 Words", he added.

The Czechoslovak official further underlined that the forecasts of the opponents of Czechoslovakia's socialist road claiming that after April 1969 the Czechoslovak Communist Party would never recover, that it would not gain the young generation and that friendship with the Soviet Union was lost forever did not come true. The Czechoslovak Communist Party restored its ideological and organizational unity and action ability so that it could hold its 14th congress as early as 1971, Alois Indra recalled.

Alois Indra went on to say that the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee stressed at its December 1987 session the importance of deepening socialist democracy as the basic prerequisite for the restructuring of society.

"Milos Jakes expressed the essence of the Czechoslovak Communist Party policy when he said that we reject nobody, that we call on all upright people to cooperate. Our objective is the activation of the entire National Front, revival of the entire political system. We want all other political parties and social and hobby organizations to take part creatively in the formation, implementation and control of policy."

"We expect the conception and practice of our policy to be given the final touch and applied in a dialogue of the whole society and naturally also with the participation of science. We realize that a dialogue has sense only if it involves qualified opposition, if various solutions of problems are judged."

Alois Indra said that "we shall not cease emphasizing that our concern is the development of the very socialist democracy which cannot have, either formally or in terms of contents, the same attributes as bourgeois democracy, as this would not be progress, it would be reaction."

"Exchange of views, polemic and opposition are not tantamount to legalized political opposition. These terms really cannot be mistaken."

He stressed that "in the past twenty years the principled policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has not been motionless dogmatism or sectarianism, its domestic and foreign policy has been serving social progress. The degree of the knowledge of needs and the possibilities of society naturally develop, and neither can development in the world be ignored—and so we place much higher demands today than we did yesterday, we have a sharper view also of our failures. But the experience accumulated by the Czechoslovak Communist Party, our working class and the Czechoslovak people cannot and must not be forgotten, as they make it possible for us to build on the results attained in the construction of socialist society and thus to pursue the policy of restructuring even more boldly."

## Memory of Policemen 'Dishonored' by Vandals

*AU021226 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Mar 88 p 2*

["Zr"-signed report: "Memory of Members of the National Security Corps Dishonored"]

[Text] Frantiskovy Lazne—A memorial plaque—part of a memorial to two members of the National Security Corps who fell while defending the Czechoslovak state border in 1948—was smashed near Frantiskovy Lazne on the night to 27 February.

A search has begun for those who perpetrated this act of vandalism.

## Prague Radio Phone-in on Current Events

LD292336 [Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1507 GMT on 29 February transmits a 50-minute live phone-in program on the latest international developments chaired by editor Petr Lukes, with Emil Keblusek, an expert advisor to the CSSR foreign minister; Jiri Jambor, deputy chief editor of "Television Newsreel"; and Bohumil Horak, chief editor of Prague radio's "International Life" main editorial office. Keblusek speaks in Slovak.

Asked about the new Czechoslovak initiative, the proposal to create along the line where the Warsaw Pact and NATO states meet a zone of confidence, cooperation, and neighborly relations, Keblusek said that this was indeed a very important initiative. It falls within the framework of the previous proposals submitted by the socialist countries on what is called a regional solution of issues, he said. It proceeds from the philosophy that since in the present circumstances the building of a comprehensive system of international security is not yet possible, an example needs to be set by creating such mini-systems of peace and security between neighboring countries.

Keblusek said, "The specific feature and the new element of the initiative, even when compared with the initiative launched by our neighboring socialist countries, resides in its comprehensive nature. It means that what is involved is not a particular view of matters—we are not talking merely about military area in this initiative launched by Comrade Jakes, we are talking about military, political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian fields." Thus we have proposed opening talks between the countries concerned, identifying destabilizing problems, and seeking joint solutions, Keblusek noted.

Horak added that the Czechoslovak initiative was a part of the broad coordinated peace policy pursued by the socialist countries. He said it is based on confidence-building as a necessary precondition of solving all complex international issues. Thus, Horak said, Czechoslovakia "has proposed new original approaches to all interested countries. It is not just this initiative; there are also other interesting proposals, such as the one to hold on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the birth of Jan Amos Komensky a representative international conference on the subject of 'Youth and Education for Peace' to educate representatives of the young generation about the questions of peace."

Jambor said he saw the new Czechoslovak initiative as a continuation of the active policy Czechoslovakia has always maintained in the international arena.

Horak added that this shows that productive cooperation with NATO states in building confidence was possible. Realistic forces in the West must accept a hand held out, at least in partial aspects, he stated.

Keblusek noted that Czechoslovakia had first briefed her allies on the new proposal and had won their support, before submitting it at the meeting in Vienna. This would then be followed by press conferences by Czechoslovak ambassadors and briefing of individual governments, he said.

Lukes then asked panel members about foreign reaction to the withdrawal of shorter-range missiles from Czechoslovakia and the GDR. They told him that it was generally welcomed and that it will have a positive influence on the public. But, they said, there were circles which tried to minimize it and accused the Soviet Union of trying to seek psychological advantage. Horak added that the early withdrawal showed a different attitude between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, where talk about modernization of nuclear weapons was rife.

A listener phoned in asking the panel what the hopes were for the ratification. Horak was optimistic, saying that the INF treaty should be ratified by the middle of April at the latest. Keblusek spoke about supporters and opponents of disarmament in the West and about the growth of realistic forces in the West. Jambor added that the Soviet Union was not doing all this merely for propaganda purposes.

Another listener asked about NATO reaction. Horak said that we will have to wait for the coming NATO summit in Brussels. He said that the United States does not now know how to proceed further after the Washington summit. Horak noted that Reagan's recent television interview was contradictory; he welcomed the INF treaty, but at the same time spoke in favor of modernizing nuclear weapons.

Lukes then asked the panel about differences within NATO. Jambor said that there will always be differences there. He, however, said that he saw the upcoming NATO summit as a ceremonial and formal occasion and that an approach to solving specific issues will not be agreed. This is because of Reagan's impending departure and the coming presidential elections in France, Horak said. He spoke about differences in attitudes existing between Bonn and London, with Margaret Thatcher pushing militantly for the modernization of nuclear arms. Keblusek said that the missiles' withdrawal has created positive conditions at the talks in Vienna. It was difficult to say how NATO will react, however, it still owes a reply, for instance to a proposal on direct talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, Keblusek said.

Listeners asked about France and NATO and about the West German attitude. They were told that the presence in Brussels of both Chirac and Mitterand is the reflection of the internal situation in France and that as far as West Germany was concerned, the retention of tactical nuclear missiles on West German territory would expose West Germany singularly to a nuclear threat. It was noted that they found this unacceptable, hence West Germany had initiated the movement to discuss NATO strategy and had adopted a broad, realistic platform and a more constructive attitude to the problem.

Asked about their view on Soviet-U.S. relations 3 months after the Washington summit, Keblusek said that the latest visit to Moscow by Secretary of State Schultz showed figuratively speaking, that the "caravan was going on and that the process has not stopped." Gradually achieved elements of confidence between both countries have been manifesting themselves in dialogues on regional and conflict problems, Keblusek said. This was due to the signing of the INF treaty, which showed that the Soviet Union was willing to go a long way in the issue of verification and to demonstrate its readiness to discuss any issue, said Keblusek.

Jambor, although conceding that the INF treaty was a milestone, said that the point was that the United States did not have a concept for the peaceful development of the world; everything it is doing, including the positive things, is done under the pressure of Soviet steps. Although the United States has a clear-cut concept for armaments, it does not have any notion about how the world is to develop as one whole on long-term peaceful foundations, Jambor said.

Horak said that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue was intensive and that it was beginning to become regular. But it showed the differences in both countries' attitudes, he noted. For the U.S. the signing of the INF treaty was in effect the end of the process, while for the Soviet Union, it was in effect the beginning, he said.

A listener asked about the prospect for the eliminiation of chemical weapons and was told that although progress has been made and the Soviet Union's gestures have

created a positive climate, the United States has complicated the matter by beginning to manufacture binary chemical weapons.

Another listener asked when the next summit would take place and was told by Horak that the date was likely to be agreed upon at a meeting between Schultz and Shevardnadze in March but that it will probably be between mid-May and mid-June and that the program of the visit will be longer than Gorbachev's visit to Washington.

A listener asked about progress on talks on strategic arms in Geneva and was told by Keblusek that regretably the U.S. delegation retreated from the positions agreed on in Washington.

The last question was on the prospect for further easing tension. Jambor said that the prospects were good and realistic. Keblusek said that the positive results already achieved would lead to further progress, and Horak added that the interests of all of mankind have priority, hence the need for a policy which uses ideological, political, social, and economic differences for active, peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between both social systems.

## Discussion On Babinsky Case, Implications

*AU021416 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 88 p 3*

[Transcript of a joint Bratislava PRAVDA and RUDE PRAVO discussion with a number of party, trade union, control, and judicial functionaries—including Jaroslav Krupauer, prosecutor general of the Czech SR; Kamil Starek, worker, chairman of the CPCZ primary organization in Foundry No. 2 of the Kraluv Dvur Iron Works in Beroun; and Jan Siroky, leading secretary of the CPSL municipal district committee in Bratislava-3—on the implementation of the "Letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to Party Bodies and Organizations on Deepening the Effectiveness of the Struggle Against Violations of the Principles of Socialist Legality, Ethics, and Discipline" of 1983, "prepared by" Lubos Kriz, Vaclav Pergl, and Karel Walter on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the letter: "Consistently Observing Socialist Legality, Ethics, and Discipline"; place and date of discussion not specified]

[Passage omitted] Question: Some citizens believe that at the district level, but also at other levels, it is the party functionary who decides whether criminal proceedings against an economic functionary, for example, will or will not be initiated. This assumption derives, for example, from the well-known events of Dolny Kubin in connection with the sentencing of Stanislav Babinsky, which revealed that he had not been prosecuted earlier, inter alia, because this had been forbidden by the then leading secretary of the CPSL district committee. What are the actual rights and duties [of a party functionary] and what are things in practice like?

Krupauer: It is being claimed among the public that the prosecutor or the security corps need the party agency's approval to start criminal proceedings against persons in the party nomenclature. This is not true, and it has never been the case. The prosecutor or the investigator merely notifies the party agency that charges have been raised against such a person or that he has been taken into custody. This is understandable, in view of the post held by such a person. However, I do not rule out that some functionaries may have interpreted the duty to inform the party agency as an entitlement to interfere in the investigations or to influence the criminal proceedings. But I have to be frank and admit that the prosecutors, too, sometimes display a cautious approach and try to find out in advance the leading secretary's view on the application of legal liability. The requirement of civil courage applies to all citizens, including those whom the socialist state charges with responsibility for supervising the observance of laws. Legality must be asserted, even at the cost of running the risk of getting into conflict, in the process of protecting the interests of society, with the views of higher-ranking people.

Question: We are now talking, in fact, of instances of abuse of office—of preferential purchases of scarce goods, preferential allocations of building sites, but also of "cheaper" buys, abuse of official cars, and so forth. Are such instances being dealt with consistently?

Krupauer: Reports that are to be found in the daily press themselves refute any doubts. When we learn about such facts and if they constitute culpable offenses, we prosecute them consistently, without regard for office or rank.

Starek: The publication of the conclusions drawn from the Babinsky case has been of great benefit. This has been a much-discussed topic at workplaces. Our people were familiar with the article that was published last year, after the trial. There were many rumors about all the people supposedly involved in it. They concerned high-ranking functionaries. People in our factory were waiting to see what stand the party would assume toward what happened. It is good that the conclusions adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium have been published in a RUDE PRAVO editorial article. This has only reinforced the party's authority. And it has also reinforced the awareness in people's minds that the party is serious about restructuring.

Siroky: There have really been many rumors surrounding the case. There have also been frequent questions. To tell the truth, the failure to inform the public has also eroded the party's authority among some people. I therefore regard the high-principled approach taken by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium toward those who violated the principles of communist ethics in this case, as well as party and state discipline, as very correct. The vigorous steps that have been taken will significantly contribute to shaping public opinion in the sense that each violation of the principles of communist ethics and party discipline must be punished irrespective of the

rank of the violator. At the same time I believe that they will serve as instruction and support for all those who must deal with similar cases within their own jurisdiction. [passage omitted]

### Chnoupek Letter on Warsaw Pact-NATO Dialogue

*LD031402 Prague CTK in English*
*1240 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Prague March 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek today sent a letter to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar explaining the Czechoslovak proposal for gradual creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the dividing line between Warsaw Treaty and NATO states.

Bohuslav Chnoupek said inter alia that Czechoslovakia "is convinced that the issue of European security, cooperation and confidence requires new creative approaches which will to an increasing extent help strengthen peaceful relations in Europe, as an urgent and pressing demand corresponding with the interests of world-wide peace, relaxation of tension and development of all countries and nations."

Czechoslovakia "consistently speaks in favour of deeper constructive international dialogue on ways and means to strengthen the guarantees of peace in all spheres of international relations, global as well as regional," Bohuslav Chnoupek said and stressed the role of the United Nations as the universal guarantor of international peace and security to the strengthening of which Czechoslovakia is determined to make every contribution.

Bohuslav Chnoupek went on to say in his letter to Javier Perez de Cuellar that peace and security cannot be reliably safeguarded by steps in the military sphere alone. "We therefore suggest gradual creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the dividing line between Warsaw Treaty and NATO states. We take the view that these states could set an example of broad fulfilment of the provisions of the all-European process especially in their neighbourly relations, that they could set and put into practice new ways of cooperation. We naturally favour a comprehensive approach involving equally the military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian spheres."

In the military sphere, "there could be gradual creation of some sort of a 'diluted' zone in which the level of military confrontation would be reduced, the most dangerous types of offensive weapons eliminated and important confidence-building measures adopted," Bohuslav Chnoupek said and stressed that this is in harmony with proposals concerning zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Equally broad scope exists in other spheres for the development of a political dialogue, mutually advantageous cooperation and the solution of old problems, including ecological ones, the Czechoslovak foreign minister continued.

"It is necessary to overcome distorted ideas about one another's aims and intentions, promote contacts and learn more about each other."

Representatives of the countries involved should "meet at political level to assess possibilities of building up confidence and developing cooperation in all spheres," Bohuslav Chnoupek said and stressed that the Czechoslovak proposal is in full harmony with the United Nations Charter and gives a fresh impulse to U.N. activity in the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

### USSR's Maslennikov, Delegation Depart

*AU030935 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech*
*29 Feb 88 p 2*

[CTK report: "Soviet Deputies Depart"]

[Text] Prague—The delegation of the Planning and Budget Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, led by Nikolay Maslennikov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Planning Commission attached to the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities in the USSR Supreme Soviet, which has been in Czechoslovakia on a study visit at the CSSR Federal Assembly's invitation, departed on Saturday [27 February] for home.

The Soviet deputies were seen off at the Prague airport by representatives of our supreme body of representatives.

Ilya Shtodin, councillor-ambassador of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, was also present on the occasion.

### Husak Meets With Soviet Ambassador

*LD032353 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak*
*1600 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Gustav Husak, the president of the Republic, had a meeting today in Prague Castle with Viktor Lomakin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia. They discussed some topical questions of cooperation between the two countries.

## No Reason Given for Detention of Five Artists

*LD031756 Hamburg DPA in German*
*1617 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—It was learned in West Berlin today that the five artists detained in East Berlin who, in a statement addressed to Premier Willi Stoph called for freedom of travel, are in investigative custody. A contact person for the five detainees was allowed to speak with the GDR state prosecutor, it was said, but no grounds have been given for their detention on Tuesday. It is possibly in connection with an action planned to coincide with the Beuts exhibition currently being held in East Berlin. [passage omitted]

## Honecker, Church Leader Leich Hold Talks

*LD031509 Hamburg DPA in German*
*1331 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In East Berlin on Thursday state and party leader Erich Honecker held a discussion lasting over 2 hours with Bishop Werner Leich, chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, Leich afterward told journalists it had been "a very open and matter-of-fact talk." "No questions were excluded," he added. However, he declined to speak in more detail about the content of the exchange of views, as a press release was envisaged.

Honecker's meeting with the chairman of the church federation and bishop of Thuringia took place immediately prior to the tenth anniversary of the fundamental talks between state and church on 6 March 1978. Observers believe that the difficulties and tensions in relations between state and church following massive actions by the authorities against members of independent groups, involving the search of the Church Enviromental Library in East Berlin at the end of November, and following the mass arrests in connection with the official Luxemberg/Liebknecht demonstration on 17 January, may have been mentioned.

### Further Report

*LD031831 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Berlin, 3 Mar (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received Bishop Dr Werner Leich, chairman of the GDR Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders, for a talk on Thursday at the official premises of the Council of State.

The meeting took place almost 10 years to the day after the important meeting between Erich Honecker and the executive of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders on 6 March 1978. On the basis of the principles enunciated at that meeting and experiences gained in the intervening 10 years there was a constructive, objective, and frank exchange of ideas on the tasks ahead, which call for joint efforts by all forces of good will in order to secure peace and coexistence among nations and among people of differing ideologies in our country, and on the development of church-state relations.

Erich Honecker paid tribute to the initiative and independent peace commitment of the evangelical churches in the GDR peace movement. One could state with satisfaction that common viewpoints in the policy of the socialist state and the peace commitment of the churches have further increased in this all-important issue of the present time. A welcome was given to the statement by Bishop Dr Leich at the spring session of the Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Thueringia in April 1986, to the effect that the evangelical churches and their faithful support "every honest step toward rethinking and toward reaching the target of a nuclear-free world with the opportunities given (to them)."

On the 40th anniversary of the liberation from Hitlerite fascism in 1985, the church's "Word on Peace" recognized that "maintaining peace has priority above everything else" and expressed the commitment of the churches and their faithful to do everything in order that war might never again emanate from German soil. This is in full agreement with the peace policy of the GDR, which has acted in accordance with that principle from the moment of its inception.

Ten years after his meeting with the executive of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders, Erich Honecker stated, it could rightly be said that that was an historic meeting with great importance for a broad-based, future-oriented policy of coexistence in church-state relations. The date 6 March 1978 was an outstanding event in the long, continuous policy of the socialist state which, in the past 10 years, too has been characterized by frankness, trust, and dependability. This path has proven itself and it is right to continue it into the future.

Erich Honecker recalled that the spirit of that meeting convincingly showed itself, for example, in the cooperation on the occasion of the 1983 Luther celebrations, and also in the expanded opportunities for work by the churches in socialist society. Thus, the church conference of 1987 in Berlin made a worthy and distinct contribution to the anniversary of the capital. Once again, great respect is accorded to the welfare services of the evangelical churches and to their good cooperation with the socialist society and of the churches to do everything for the well-being of the people is impressively demonstrated in this. Erich Honecker stressed that this is the scale by which the policy of the socialist state is implemented.

One could state that the altogether favorable development of church-state relations has perceptively promoted the readiness of Christian citizens to cooperate in a responsible, lively, and diversified manner in the formation of socialist society. Through their daily achievements in their professions and in social cooperation millions of Christian citizens are contributing

toward the increasing attractiveness of socialism in the GDR. In day-to-day good coexistence with non-Christians they experience real socialism as a constitutional reality, as their own work, and as the house which they have helped to build and live in. As citizens with equal rights and equal respect, they have elaborated and enjoy the advantages of our economic and social policy.

Bishop Dr Leich expressed his thanks for the talks, which meet a long-cherished wish on the part of the churches. He thanked the government and the chairman of the Council of State for their work for peace and disarmament, which the churches highly value. The concern for maintaining peace was an important link between state and church even in 1978, and had remained so to this day. The bishop gratefully emphasized what has been achieved in the intervening years. Many of the problems addressed at that time have been solved. Above all, however, the principles stressed at that time—equal rights, equal respect, and equal opportunity for all citizens, as well as the necessity of dialogue—have proven to be both viable and beneficial. There is no alternative to this.

While recognizing the constitutionally established separation between state and church, and on the foundation of a trust which had increased in the years since 1978, dialogue must be continued today concerning issues which have newly emerged as a result of developments. These arise from a dynamic which is innate within human coexistence. The fact that problems arise during developments between the church and state determined by this dynamic is nothing unusual. It is merely a question of how to overcome these problems. The church wishes to help in this matter as a constructively cooperating party bound to the will of God, which is seeking the benefits of coexistence and which favors the opportunity of socialism as a more equitable form of coexistence among people. The bishop then went on to the problems which exert an influence on church-state relations. He asked that it be seen as an expression of readiness to cooperate in thinking about and in taking responsibility for the vital issues of our people if the churches are to seek a continuation of the "information talks." Those issues concerning the churches regard it as necessary to speak, by reason of their experiences with congregation members, have been submitted to the State Secretary for Church Affairs by the executive of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders.

Erich Honecker stated that the path taken by our country hitherto has not been simple. Along this path, we learn with each other and we walk with each other. This would be so for a long time into the future. In this process, what has proven itself is implemented, and what has not proven itself is jointly altered. It corresponds with the policy of the party and the government that the creative daily cooperation of all citizens, independent of their ideology or religion, is indispensable in future as well for the vigorous formation of our socialist democracy. It is beneficial for overall social development if the churches are to accompany, advise, and encourage their congregation members to make the humanitarian consequences of faith fruitful for the further formation of the socialist society. The joint task of shaping our socialist homeland in an ever better way in a more peaceful world takes priority over all ideological or religious convictions, Erich Honecker stressed.

In future too, the socialist state would regard frank discussion and constructive dialogue as the normal form of church-state relations. As hitherto, the socialist state has a great deal of understanding for church concerns. In this matter, the clear separation of state and church has proven itself for the two sides. The socialist state makes no interference in the affairs of the church or its services and brooks no discrimination against citizens of the Christian faith; the church claims no mandate for the conduct of state tasks. Any other path would benefit the interests of those whom our joint path does not suit, those who wish to see confrontation instead of constructive relations between church and state.

We have experienced, Erich Honecker said, the formation of the socialist society as a process of far-reaching political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural changes, including a constant quest for the best methods of resolving the issues tackled in each case. Every citizen is called upon to make a creative contribution, and to place his knowledge, ideas, talents, and capabilities at the service of our humanitarian cause, the further development of a socially just society. The churches, too, are called upon to accompany the Christian citizens on this path.

State Secretary Frank-Joachim Hermann, chief of the chancery of the Chairman of the GDR Council of State of the GDR, and Senior Church Council Member Martin Ziegler, chief of the Secretariat of the GDR Conference of Evangelical Churches, took part in the meeting.

## Honecker Address at Premnitz Works

*AU011001 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Feb 88 p 3*

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the "Friedrich Engels" Synthetic Fiber Works in Premnitz, Potsdam Bezirk, on 25 February: "High Performances—the GDR's Trademark of Which We Are Proud"]

[Text] Dear colleagues, dear friends and comrades, a few moments ago, a new, modern, and efficient plant for the manufacture of WOLPRYLA [GDR trademark] started continuous operation at the "Friedrich Engels" Synthetic Fiber Works, which is rich in traditions. Thus your collective has scored an important success in the first months of the year 1988 which is so decisive for our current 5-year plan.

The successful completion of this project will influence broad spheres of our national economy. As is known, this is part of a whole series of investments which are to be undertaken at the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine, in Premnitz, Pirna, Guben, Scharza, and elsewhere. Many of these have already been realized. As a whole, they will produce a more than M1-billion increase in commodity production, especially in high-quality synthetic fibers and their primary products. In light industry they will then be processed into modern outer clothing, knitwear, curtains, upholstery, and many other products.

The Policy Adopted by the 11th Party Congress Became a Matter For Everyone [subhead]

One can rightly say that the preparation, the construction, and the startup of your plant are not only important for the Premnitz works. Another condition was created for the successful implementation of the course of the unity of economic and social policy. For this I would like to convey thanks from the SED Central Committee to all those concerned.

Through your deeds you have demonstrated to what a large extent the policy adopted by the 11th Party Congress has become a matter of all working people. This was again confirmed during my walkabout through your enterprise in my talks with workers, foremen, engineers, chemical engineers, scientists, designers of plants, representatives of party, trade union, and FDJ organizations, and with responsible managers.

You have once again demonstrated through your achievements that the shaping of the advanced socialist society in the GDR serves the well-being of the people and the preservation of peace. Your achievements and the achievements of the sportsmen in Calgary are a trademark of our Republic. They withstand the scrutiny in every respect. Our people are rightly proud of them.

To master the latest technology, to realize high performance targets, to ensure a stable and dynamic economic growth means also to maintain our country's leading position in international competition and to steadily improve the lives of the people. It means to strengthen the position from which we wage the struggle for lasting peace. Our workplace is our battle station for peace, our battle station for socialism.

Your collective, too, understands our economic strategy. Our course of the unity of economic and social policy is increasingly helping to shape the face of socialism more attractively. To continue to realize it we need the creativity, the initiative, the commitment, and the sense of responsibility that you have impressively demonstrated. As I could convince myself this morning, all processes are interrelated. The production process of the new plant is based on a method which was devised in your enterprise together with the Chemical Plant Construction Combine in Leipzig-Grimma and researchers of the GDR Academy of Sciences. It determines—and this is decisive—the world standard and has been tried and tested in industry. You are thus successfully continuing, even in our technologically short-lived era, the important traditions of research into synthetic fibers in the GDR. One can only say: Glory and respect for our researchers and technologists, workers and employees, women and young people who see to it that chemical research and production are and continue to be a trademark of our Republic.

The process-related basic work, the designing of the equipment, the tests and assembly were often carried out in "one breath" by you. The order for this was placed in 1984 and hardly 4 years later the plant was put in operation. This smooth cooperation was one of the decisive preconditions for the rapid pace of its completion. In this, no risk was spared. During the designing process and the assembly of the plant, improvements were carried out that made possible optimum solutions.

I would like to stress that the overwhelming majority of the equipment was produced and assembled by combines and enterprises in the GDR, including the achievements of the BMSR Plant Construction. This demonstrates how the advanced machine building sector of our Republic and the electrical engineering/electronics sector are creating modern production plants for our country. The construction collectives, designers, technologists, and workers contribute to shortening the procedure and to reducing the expenditure.

FDJ Members Master High Technologies [subhead]

In your enterprise the working people were trained in time to master the new plant. Thus you now possess the most important key for continuous and trouble-free operation, for the full use of the capacity that has been created. Today I found out in various talks how seriously you have prepared yourselves for mastering the new plant.

Numerous collectives have withstood the tests under the great challenges and have accomplished great achievements. As examples I would like to mention the "Jansen" and "Rampf" brigades from the Brandenburg Industrial and Special Construction Combine, the "Rieger," "Kurth," and "Keil" brigades from the Chemical Construction Combine, as well as the "Feist" and "Heimann" assembly collectives from the electrical engineering/electronics sector. I would like to make special mention of Comrade Kroening, construction manager at the Premnitz Synthetic Fiber Works; Comrade Nor, manager of the general contractor area [generalauftragnehmerbereich] in the sphere of chemical plant construction; and project manager Comrade Mueller, who made a great contribution to materializing the project and to creating and establishing the start-up and production collectives.

As so often in the life of the GDR, the youth has achieved outstanding results within the central youth project intensification of the production of highly refined synthetic fibers." In the WOLPRYLA project alone some 600 young people in 62 youth brigades and in temporary youth collectives as well as 3 youth research collectives took part. They waged a persistent struggle in their FDJ collectives to reduce investment costs and to increase labor productivity.

Full of enthusiasm they tackled the application of key technologies, such as the "software planning" youth research collective which worked out the programs for the modern microelectronic information systems. This once again demonstrates the striving of young people to master the key technologies to strengthen the GDR and thus shape their own future in socialism.

Improved Working and Living Conditions in Your Enterprises and Residential Areas [subhead]

It is of great importance that with the construction of the modern plant the working and living conditions are improved. Naturally this applies not only to an individual section but to the whole enterprise. And what is more, it does not only apply to the enterprise, but also to the towns and neighboring villages.

Dear friends and comrades, the face of Premnitz has undergone positive changes since our eighth party congress, since the beginning of the seventies. Particularly striking is the implementation of our housing program as the core of our social policy. We must not and will not stop here. We must think about how the local conditions can be used to improve and make more attractive the existing trade institutions and the recreational facilities, such as youth clubs, through the people's own initiative. All this contributes to the well-being of the people, to the well-being of the young. The well-being of the people and the young—this is dear to our hearts.

The Young Demonstrate Through Deeds That They Are the Architects of Their Own Fortune [subhead]

Even though some loudmouths west of the Elbe and Werra may not want to admit it, it must be said that for the first time in the history of the German, a people, a younger generation is growing up in our country which is forging its own destiny. In our country there is no need for great slogans about freedom and democracy, but in our country everyone can demonstrate through his actions, day in and day out, that he is fighting for the freedom and happiness of the people. The well-being of the people is based not on mass employment like Rheinhausen but on full employment.

We want to ensure together that socialism will become increasingly attractive, in terms of production and a rich cultural life. The way socialism turns out depends to a crucial extent on how we shape its system. Together, through implementing our current 5-year plan, we want to increase our efforts to create the conditions for improving and making more attractive the developed socialist society.

In our country the old saying applies: "Everyone is the architect of his own fortune," and this will remain so in the future. We have jointly created conditions, in nearly 40 years of activity, so that this can be the case for everyone, and we are proud of the fact that the worker-peasant state in the GDR offers all citizens the conditions for a better life.

Dear friends and comrades, the start-up of this plant and the whole system of measures which will make synthetic fiber production considerably more efficient for our light industry is in effect a model for the linking of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. Everyone can see that it is central management and planning, together with a high degree of responsibility on the part of the combines and enterprises and local initiatives, which make it possible to realize such far-reaching projects so successfully.

"Work, Plan, and Govern Together" Is Socialist Democracy in Action [subhead]

It was entirely in this spirit that the mode of operation of our planned economy was described at the recent meeting with the first kreis secretaries. We go by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and by the principle "everyone according to his abilities, everyone according to his performance" which Marx established in his "Criticism of the Gotha Program." As has been confirmed, we make most progress when people are persuaded and prepared in good time for new developments, when their proposals and critical comments are taken into consideration and when, in short, their innovative spirit, their experiences, and their proposals are used. "Work, plan, and govern together," that is socialist democracy in action. We want to ensure together that this democracy will continue to develop for the well-being of the people.

As is usually the case with such a complicated object, in the construction of your plant you also encountered difficulties. But jointly they were overcome. Now the results of your work flow into the further shaping of the developed socialist society. This does not only apply to the material results but also to the fact that in the course of socialist construction socialist personalities have developed, as well as to the countless experiences that are essential in order to further realize the economic strategy of our party.

The shaping of the advanced socialist society in our country, the mastery of the modern productive forces of our time, the perfection of the production conditions in this process—none of this has by any means been completed. Rather, our great work is in the middle of the process of making our society ever more stable in political terms, more efficient in economic terms and, above

all, more attractive for the people. That this is not easy, we all know from our own experience. Even the program of our party adopted in 1976 states that the shaping of the advanced socialist society in the GDR is a historic process of a far-reaching political, economic, social and spiritual-intellectual changes.

Today one can clearly see that in our country mastery of the scientific-technological revolution benefits working people. It is highly compatible with the right to work, it strengthens social security, in short it serves the well-being of the people. It is well known that it is quite different in Western countries. There technical progress is accompanied by mass unemployment from which, in the opinion of the trade unions, it is particularly clear that capitalist society is reaching its limits. If one takes into account that in the developed capitalist countries there are 31 million unemployed, then it is clearly shown that socialism is truly the alternative.

This is how the basic differences between socialism and capitalism present themselves if the facts are allowed to speak. As has been shown by a document of the Vatican, based on indications by bishops conferences from 60 countries, 1 billion people, which is one-fifth of the world population, live without a decent dwelling. A total of 100 million are without a home and 600 million live in slums. This is shocking. This is an accusation against the capitalist system and a stimulus for us to further develop the socialist system.

Dear colleagues, we in the GDR will continue along our good path. We have a good reason to look to the future confidently because much is pointing to a turn for the better in the international situation. The treaty between the USSR and the United States on the removal of of their intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles has reached the phase of ratification. In Geneva negotiations are under way on the preparation of an agreement to halve strategic offensive weapons while adhering to the ABM Treaty is the next significant step toward disarmament, which is to be signed at another summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

Contribution to a World Without Nuclear Weapons,for Secure Peace [subhead]

The GDR is in favor of a nuclear world and a secure peace. We are concentrating on this and are making our contribution to it. In this context I cite the early withdrawal from our territory of the shorter-range missiles agreed with the Soviet Union which is taking place as of today. As the latest example I name our initiative on holding an international meeting for nuclear-free zones in June 1988 in Berlin, and our call to the international public to support its preparation.

We are not impatient. Everything needs time. But we do advocate that when one step is taken in the area of disarmament policy the next one must follow, in order to liberate mankind from nuclear weapons by the year 2000. For this reason we advocate one zero option after another. Radical disarmament in the conventional sphere, both of armed forces and weapons, is also on the agenda.

Peace is mankind's greatest possession and the disarmament process is of a vital necessity. It must be continued without delay and must not be obstructed or even undermined by those who talk of modernizing nuclear weapons rather than of removing them. Today it is clear, and there is ample proof of this, that the world cannot flourish in a climate of confrontation and tensions but can do so only in an atmosphere of detente and cooperation.

Dear colleagues, dear friends and comrades, I wish you and all members of the "Friedrich Engels" Synthetic Fiber Works further successes in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. I wish all of you pleasure in your work, much progress, good health, and personal well-being.

## Herrmann Attends Journalists' Congress

*LD032327 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1632 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Berlin 3 Mar (ADN)—The 12th Congress of the GDR Journalists Association opened in Berlin today. Taking part are some 600 press, radio, and television delegates; numerous GDR public figures; the president of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ); Prof Kaarle Nordenstreng; and representatives of the journalists organizations of the USSR, Poland, and the CSSR.

The focus of the report of the Central Executive of the VDJ [German Journalists Association]—"Journalism in the Service of Socialism and Peace"—which was presented by VDJ Chairman Eberhard Heinrich, was on the responsible tasks of journalists as witnesses to the historic developments of our time. He urged the journalists to contribute with great commitment and in trusting solidarity with the people to the further building of the developed socialist society, to peace and security, and to the people's well-being.

"Imbued with resolute partisanship for our workers' and peasants' power," a greetings address signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State says, "the mass media of our country is shouldering their responsibility to be agitators, propagandists, and organizers in the further shaping of the developed socialist society."

They are making a valuable contribution to the propagation of socialist ideology and policy and the values and achievements of society, according to the letter, which was read by head of the SED Central Committee delegation Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. On behalf of

the chairman of the Council of State, he presented the VDJ with the Patriotic Order of Merit in Gold in recognition of its work for the all-around strengthening of the GDR.

### Finnish CP Delegation Leaves for Home

*LD031417 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1036 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Berlin, 3 Mar (ADN)—The Finnish Communist Party [SKP] delegation led by chairman Arvo Aalto, which has been in the GDR on a several-day visit at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, left for home today.

It was given a warm send-off at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport by Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and head of the international relations department.

### Stoph Receives Ethiopian Trade Minister

*LD022347 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1755 GMT 2 Mar 88*

[Text] Berlin 2 Mar ADN—GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph received Ethiopia's minister of Foreign Trade, Tadesse Gebre-Kidan, for a friendly talk today. The two politicians paid tribute to the development of successful and stable cooperation between the two countries on the basis of the friendship treaty signed in 1979. They spoke in favor of further developing and deepening trade and economic relations for their mutual advantage in accordance with the agreements signed at the top level.

The partners in the talk agreed that the Treaty on the Elimination of the Soviet and U.S. Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan is of historic significance, and opens the way to further-reaching disarmament agreements, and strengthens the confidence of the people in a lasting safeguarding of world peace.

Willi Stoph and Tadesse Gebre-Kidan strongly condemned the inhuman policy of apartheid and the escalation of violence and terror by the South African regime.

### Winter Holds Talks With African Ambassadors

*LD011833 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1518 GMT 1 Mar 88*

[Text] Berlin, 1 Mar ADN—GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Heinz-Dieter Winter, today received the ambassadors of Mozambique, Ghana, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and the acting director of the ANC of South Africa's mission for talks at their request.

On behalf of the ambassadors of African states accredited to the GDR and the representatives of national liberation movements, the diplomats gave a briefing on the continuing critical situation in southern Africa because of the apartheid regime's policy of terror and destabilization. They condemned South Africa's increased military acts of aggression agaisnt independent African states, which had led to a dangerous escalation of the conflict. The ambassadors expressed their deep outrage at Israel's policy of terror in the occupied Palestinian territories. They expressed their gratitude for the GDR's principled peace policy and solidarity with the African and Palestinian people.

Dr Winter pointed out that the GDR supports the removal of the apartheid regime, the immediate end to South Africa's policy of aggression and destabilization against neighboring states, and the guaranteeing of Namibia's independence on the basis of the relevant UN resolutions. The latest repressive measures against the broad democratic antiapartheid movement make it clear that the regime wants to uphold the system of apartheid using every means of state terrorism. These measures are infringements upon the most basic human rights.

The GDR is following the escalation of brutality and violence of the Israeli occupiers against the civilian population in the occupied Palestinian territories. The soonest possible calling of an international conference on the Middle East is of decisive significance for the bringing about of a just and lasting solution in the Middle East, as has been proposed by the overwhelming majority of the UN member states.

During the friendly talks, Dr Winter reasserted that the GDR would, with its peace policy and active solidarity, continue to stand committedly at the side of the just struggle of the peoples and states of Africa and the Middle East.

## Karoly Grosz Receives NATO Delegation

*LD032244 Budapest MTI in English*
*1840 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—On Thursday Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in the parliament the visiting delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly.

At the informal cordial talks Karoly Grosz described the visit as a manifestation of common intention of active dialogue. He gave a briefing on the home political situation of Hungary, the programme of stabilization and advancement and current tasks to be accomplished. He discussed the importance of economic cooperation based on equal and mutual advantages and stressed the interest of Hungary in the continued strengthening of many-sided relations.

Summing up his impressions from the visit, Ton Frinking, president of North Atlantic Assembly, head of the delegation, stated the situation is ripe for the development of relations.

During the day the members of the delegation held an informal discussion with Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, and several members of the PPF Presidium. The delegation was briefed on the work of the people's front movement and timely issues of Hungarian socio-political life. The parties expressed the common intention to maintain contacts between the Patriotic People's Front and the North Atlantic Assembly.

Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek, deputy minister of defence and chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Army, met a group of the delegation.

On Thursday the delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly concluded the official part of their visit to Hungary.

## NEPSZABADSAG Reviews Gromyko's Visit

*AU040853 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian*
*29 Feb 88 p 3*

[Unattributed article: "Continuity and Renewal"]

[Text] "I feel great satisfaction each time I visit your beautiful capital city." In a few months it will have been 20 years since Andrey Gromyko began his speech, with these words at Ferihegy Airport. Burrowing in archives and looking in faded newspapers, and more recent ones, one can indeed realize how often Andrey Gromyko has visited Hungary and the regularity with which he was able to follow the construction of socialism in this country and to exchange views on coordinating foreign policy.

Common Interest [subhead]

Thus, he witnessed our fresh start: As early as in May 1957, he had already had an opportunity to form a picture of how Hungary, led by the MSZMP, had recovered from the great shock of 1956. He was appointed Soviet foreign minister not long before these events. Now, 3 decades later, Budapest was again the stage of a new Gromyko "premiere": It was his first visit as president of the Soviet Union. Moreover, as we have been stressing, with perhaps not quite unjustified pride, Gromyko came to Hungary on his first official visit abroad since his election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Our government spokesman said that, in Gromyko, we can greet an old acquaintance and a recognized and respectable friend of Hungary in Budapest again. And, the journalist added to this that we feel that the premiere nature of the visit certainly reflected the interest and appreciation of the Soviet leading bodies toward the Hungarian efforts and initiatives of last decades.

Different connections can reflect the importance of this visit. We must mention in the first place something that has already been said—namely that, without exaggeration, Gromyko embodies the continuity of Hungarian-Soviet relations. Although no statistics have been prepared on it, with a little research we could also give, for example, the exact number of occasions when Janos Kadar and Andrey Gromyko had the opportunity of exchanging views in Budapest, Moscow, in other socialist capitals, or at major international meetings. If we rightly consider anyone, then Andrey Gromyko is definitely the person who, with several years of foreign policy experience, views Hungary not only according to its current achievements and problems, but also in its historical development and in international correlations. In addition, however, Gromyko's statements were followed with particular attention because the Hungarian leadership had the opportunity to be thoroughly briefed on the restructuring process under way in the Soviet Union, a restructuring process whose successful implementation is—as the communique on the Gromyko-Kadar meeting also states—in our mutual interest.

"A considerable amount of experience in the construction of the new society has been accumulated in the last decades, and this experience is particularly important today when the Soviet Union, Hungary, and other countries of the socialist community have reached a new stage of development," Gromyko said in his toast delivered at a festive dinner given by President Karoly Nemeth and his wife in honor of Gromyko and his wife in parliament. In this toast, Gromyko also mentioned the fact that the Soviet party and state leadership examines the restructuring process in close relationship with the processes under way in Hungary and in the other socialist countries. Obviously, we are talking about benefitting from each other's experiences. The Hungarian economic reform preceded the beginning of restructuring in the Soviet Union, and, as Gromyko also pointed out, there are also experiences in other areas, as, for example, in

activity of the organs of people's power and in legislation, experiences that are worth considering and using. At the same time, elements of the Soviet restructuring process also command interest in Hungary. Although, it is possible that we call the processes under way in the Soviet Union and in the Hungarian People's Republic by different names, and our everyday problems are not completely identical—and this is natural—I think, nevertheless, that the slogan 'More socialism and more democracy,' a slogan which is the same in both countries, reflects well the essence of this process," Andrey Gromyko said.

Development and Restructuring [subhead]

We indeed call these processes by different names—a program of stabilization and development here, and a restructuring process there, but we have identical goals: to fulfill the requirements imposed by the new phase in socialist construction. New opportunities derive from this harmony of tasks, but this also demands more up-to-date and developed forms of cooperation in the relations between the two countries, primarily in the economic and scientific and technological areas, by deepening cooperation in production and establishing joint enterprises. These issues were discussed in detail during the talks between Andrey Gromyko and Premier Karoly Grosz.

The restructuring process under way in the Soviet Union provides more favorable and open conditions than previously for developing modern forms of cooperation. It was stated at one of the regular press conferences held in the House of Soviet Culture and Science during the visit: Gromyko told the Hungarian premier that, in its foreign economic policy, the Soviet Union will guarantee the socialist countries priority in their relations. The importance of these relations for us is well known, because one-third of our foreign trade is carried out with the Soviet Union. In the current 5-year plan, for example, we import more than 90 percent of our oil, oil derivatives, natural gas, and electric power from the Soviet Union. Economic cooperation was also discussed at the meetings between the large delegation of experts and advisers that accompanied Gromyko and their Hungarian negotiating partners. Aleksey Antonov, the Soviet deputy premier in charge of CEMA issues, said that there are no problems in our bilateral economic relations; whatever problems arise, they originate from the world economic environment. A "restructuring" of CEMA would contribute to reducing these unfavorable effects.

The intention of further developing party and state cooperation in political, cultural, and other areas in addition to the aforementioned economic area, in the spirit of the principled agreements signed at the talks between Janos Kadar and Mikhail Gorbachev, was stressed in the joint communique issued on Gromyko's official visit of friendship in Hungary. Gromyko proposed that joint sessions of the permanent committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the Hungarian National Assembly be held from time to time, and he also proposed that the role of county and city councils be increased in relations between sister cities. Gromyko expressed the opinion that we must meet the increasing demands from the citizens of both countries for more contacts and mutual visits. An intergovernmental agreement was signed during Gromyko's visit on the opening of a Hungarian cultural, scientific, and information center in Moscow in the near future.

A Decisive Role [subhead]

It is impossible to deal with all the important events of this high-level visit in a single article. It must be mentioned, however, that Andrey Gromyko again displayed his diplomatic past: He delivered a speech on Soviet foreign policy in the parliament. Almost 450 deputies and public figures attended the session of the 24-member Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly on 25 February. This showed the great interest in the opinions of the Soviet president who was foreign minister for almost 3 decades. As for the positions on the international situation stated during the official talks, it has been clearly formulated that the policy on reaching an agreement and the consistent peace efforts of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union, play a decisive role in easing international tension. Both Budapest and Moscow believe that a favorable international environment is indispensable for the implementation of our tasks in the building of our countries. It is the firm determination of both countries to continue a policy of international cooperation, which is based on constructive dialogue between countries and on mutual interests.

Andrey Gromyko's visit to Hungary last week was beneficial and successful. Hungarian-Soviet relations have further strengthened at a time when Hungarian society is also working to solve important and complex tasks. The MSZMP and the CPSU are preparing for a national party conference and an all-union party conference respectively. Hence, the joint communique has an important conclusion: On the occasion of the visit, the two sides expressed their conviction that the implementation of the tasks outlined by the two parties will give new impetus to socialist construction in both countries.

**Industry Minister Berecz Returns From Moscow**
*AU041133 Budapest MTI in English*
*1913 GMT 2 Mar 88*

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—On Wednesday Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry, returned from Moscow where he held negotiations with Ivan Silayev, Soviet deputy prime minister, Nikolay Pugin, minister of car manufacturing, and Krustyu Stanilov Bulgarian minister [title as received], preparation of the Hungarian-Soviet-Bulgarian car manufacturing government level agreement. The agreement is expected to be signed in the coming weeks on the manufacturing of ZAZ 1102 Tauria cars. Under the cooperation the Hungarian machine

industry in addition to the present spare parts manufacturing is starting the manufacturing of rigs. As a counter trade for the Hungarian deliveries for the assembly of a new Soviet car manufacturing plant Tauria cars will be shipped continuously to Hungary starting 1989.

Frigyes Berecz had meetings with Vladislav Kolesnikov, electronics industry minister, on the selection of the site for the Intermos Hungarian-Soviet joint venture. The plant is to assembled in Hungary with the use of the up-to-date Soviet technology. The plant is to produce 5-6000 million forints of production value annually and will serve as basis for the upgrading of the production structure in tool industry, machine tool, electronic and communication industry.

## Trade Trends With Soviet Union Discussed

*AU031428 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Feb 88 p 1,5*

[Interview with Janos Ambrus, deputy minister of trade, by E. Er.: "From Exchange of Goods to Mixed Enterprises"; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] It is an historical fact that we concluded our first agreement on exchange of goods with the Soviet Union in August 1945. At present, the Soviet Union buys the largest amount of Hungarian industrial and agricultural products. Thus, for example, we ship 45 percent of our exported machine installations, about 40 percent of our exported foodstuffs, and 30 percent of our exported consumer goods to the Soviet Union. We interviewed Janos Ambrus, deputy minister of trade, on the most important issues of Hungarian-Soviet economic relations. [passage omitted]

[E. Er.] These figures are more or less well known. What perhaps concerns people more is whether it is still possible to further widen the exchange of goods.

[Ambrus] Already it has become less possible to widen this exchange by using traditional methods. This is exactly why new and modern forms of cooperation have been increasingly stressed in recent years. In the course of the November 1987 session of the Hungarian-Soviet intergovernmental committee, both participants welcomed the fact that 120 pairs of Hungarian and Soviet enterprises concluded agreements on establishing direct relations. In addition, 19 joint scientific development collectives were established, 3 mixed enterprises began operations, and the appropriate documents concerning the establishment of 6 mixed enterprises have already been signed. Our relations with the Soviet republics, especially with the Ukrainian, Georgian, Azerbaijan, and Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republics have become more active. We expect these new forms of cooperation to increase efficiency and we will explore further possibilities for importing, through this cooperation that is, satisfy concrete needs of the people's economy. This is why it is exceptionally important that products which are manufactured jointly or in cooperation should be on a high technological level, produced efficiently, and marketable on several markets, too.

[E. Er.] Can these points of view also be implemented in practice?

[Ambrus] These points of view must be implemented. It is true that enterprise intentions are not always in harmony with them, because under the cover of the new forms of cooperation, enterprises would occasionally like to increase exports while maintaining their present structure and standards.

[E. Er.] This is understandable because international quotas in fact limit the widening of exports, a fact which can perhaps force enterprises based on Soviet demands reduce their production.

[Ambrus] This is precisely why the enterprises and all the participants in the multifaceted cooperation have the important task of exploring the kinds of goods that could be used to increase imports, thus creating the basis needed to increase exports. In order to achieve this, our market exploration should also increase in 1988 so that new products can appear in our imports. (This requirement refers equally to consumer goods for the population and materials, machines, and installations that are necessary for production.) Our Soviet partners also agree with us that their enterprises and competent organizations should also carry out their work on the Hungarian market more intensively than hitherto, to enable them to get to know Hungarian needs more deeply and, on the basis of this knowledge, expand their offers. But I am convinced that the emerging changes in the dynamic Soviet people's economy, which is ready for renewal, promote the realization of these endeavors. [passage omitted]

## Csehak Leads Delegation to Moscow

*LD032238 Budapest MTI in English 1838 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—On Thursday Judit Csehak, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Minister of Social Welfare and Health, left for Moscow at the head of a delegation to hold talks on health and social-welfare issues.

## Marjai Receives Norwegian Official

*LD032239 Budapest MTI in English 1801 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—On Thursday Kari Gjesteby, secretary of state at the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived on an official visit to Budapest on the invitation of Gyula Horn, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Kari Gjesteby met Sandor Gaspar, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, president of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade.

### Marjai, Afghan Deputy Prime Minister Meet

*LD032159 Budapest MTI in English*
*1804 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, and party have [words indistinct] in Hungary.

The neogtiating delegations headed by Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Sayyed Amin briefed each other on the situation of their countries and the policy of the governments. Talks were held on international issues of concern to Hungary and Afghanistan current questions of bilateral relations.

The delegation met in a roundtable with managers of Hungarian companies which have economic, technical and scientific relations with Afghanistan. On Thursday Sayyed Amin conferred with Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food, and Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs. In the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, President Tamas Beck met the delegation. Muhammad Haqim, president of the Afghan Chamber of Commerce and industry, and Tamas Beck signed a cooperation accord in the presence of Sayyed Amin.

### Kabul Reports Amin's Talks

*LD032212 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto*
*1530 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin recently arrived in Budapest at the head of a delegation. The visit is being made in response to an invitation from the first deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. Talks will be held on expanding bilateral economic and trade relations and scientific and technical protocols will be signed. The official talks between the Afghan delegation and the Hungarian authorities began on 2 March.

According to another report, Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin and his delegation last night attended a dinner given in their honor by Jozsef Marjai, first deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

### Youth Union Leader Returns From Talks in FRG

*LD032158 Budapest MTI in English*
*1723 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—The delegation of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ), headed by first secretary Csaba Hamori, returned to Budapest Thursday after a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany on the invitation of the Organization of German Young Socialists (JUSO).

During the five-day visit the delegation held talks in Bonn with Michael Guggemos, president of JUSO, and leaders of the Socialist German Working Youth (SDAJ) and the Federal German Youth Circle (DBJR). They met several senior politicians of the FRG, including Peter Glotz, chairman of the Youth Policy Committee of SPD, Hans-Ulrich Klose, treasurer of SPD, Karsten D. Voigt, foreign spokesman of SPD, Wolfgang Roth, economic policy spokesman of SPD, Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the parliamentary faction of FDP, Otto Schily, representative of the parliamentary faction of the Green Party, and Anton Pfeifer, secretary of state of the Federal Ministry of Youth, Family, and Health affairs.

Csaba Hamori and his negotiating partners concluded several agreements designed to intensify cooperation between KISZ and West German youth organizations.

The delegation visited Stuttgart and the digital telephone department of the Siemens works in Munich.

### MSZMP's Lukacs Tours Borsod County

*LD032232 Budapest MTI in English*
*1755 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, has paid a two-day visit to Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County. In Miskolc party and council leaders informed him on the life of the county, the work of party organizations, current economic problems and the modest results achieved so far in the field of renewal and production restructuring. The Central Committee secretary visited factories and held talks with party activists and secretaries at the county party committee on questions related to the leading role of the party and the improvement of party democracy.

### Statistical Office Releases Figures

*LD041152 Budapest MTI in English*
*1055 GMT 4 mar 88*

[Text] Budapest, March 4 (MTI)—The Hungarian Central Statistical Office today requests 15-20 per cent fewer data from the companies and institutions than earlier. This is the result of the modernization and simplification action, said State Secretary Vera Nyitrai, chairman of the Central Statistical Office, at a press conference held Friday in Budapest.

Some 500 experts re-examined the state statistical data collection system in the first half of 1987, and unjustified parallelisms were eliminated, the frequency of certain data services was reduced. For the time being, the Central Statistical Office cannot further reduce data collection as this would endanger the information necessary for the work of the state apparatus, scientific research and the information of the population. At the same time, irrespective of the amount of data, the system of statistics will be further modernized as it has to adapt to the new rules of society and economic management.

New solutions are needed in statistics particularly in view of the tax reform and the elimination of part of the subsidies, as it has to be determined how the major national economic proportions are modified as the effect of changes in the prices and tax system, what changes take place in the situation of the companies, cooperatives, the budget and the population. Introduction of the personal income tax makes it more difficult to analyze the income sources of the workers, therefore, the most important income, earnings from main occupations, will be examined separately, and, for example, the development of the real wages per earner will be calculated in this way. The development of the most important factors of the living standard will also be examined more frequently and in greater detail.

### Health Minister on Support for Church

*LD032359 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] The new Social and Health Affairs Ministry has already introduced itself to the relevant parliamentary committee. This morning the main leaders of the profession's trade union were told about the ministry's plans by Minister Judit Csehak. Miklos Tarjan has just returned from the meeting:

[Tarjan] I think it is very important to say, first of all, that there has been a very strong change in emphasis. Until now the government has tolerated but not supported the health and social activities of churches and various organizations. The minister has now said that she considers it highly important to support these initiatives, even by material means.

She also said that the establishment of the ministry is only a necessary condition, but is inadequate in itself for the renewal of social policy. The government is expected to discuss the preliminary concept for the reform of social policy on 10 March, and the minister hopes that reform in social policy will be discussed together with the budget reform at the autumn session of parliament.

It is also very important to say—and Judit Csehak placed very strong emphasis on this—that decentralization must be vigorously pursued in the health sector, too. Of course the government should not do this by deserting the various units, but by creating the necessary infrastructure.

What is even more important—and she also said this—is that the democratic supervision of implementation must be secured. This session today is especially important because the first point on the agenda is the scope of authority and legal power of the ministry. This is what Judit Csehak talked about at her meeting with trade union officials.

I consider this very important because a narrow perception of it would make it an internal matter for the government. Instead, the trade union officials will now get the opportunity to make suggestions.

## Briefs

### Success of Hungarian Software

Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—In 1987 softwares in a value of 12 million dollars were sold by Hungarian computer engineering firms. Part of the programs are written in Hungary, while the majority is made in the ordering country by Hungarian professionals. The largest markets are Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Scandinavian countries. Exports include training, game and expert systems programs. In Hungary besides the larger firms specializing in writing programs—Novotrade, Szamalk, Szamki—several hundred of small cooperatives and ventures are writing softwares mainly in the fields of data base management, word processing and technical drawing. At the same time the number of game and training programs is continuously increasing and special softwares are released for medical diagnostics, agriculture, construction engineering and geology. Recognizing the skills of the Hungarian software experts some joint ventures have also entered the export market of Hungarian softwares. The West German Sicontact joint Hungarian-FRG company organized a software house in Budapest where the foreign party, the Siemens, gets her softwares written in a value of half a million dollars, this year. The Swiss-Hungarian Euroconsult company has also started the exports of software products. [Text] [*Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT 3 Mar 88 LD*]

## Newspaper Views Walesa Passport Decision

*LD041123 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 4 Mar 88*

[From the Press Review]

[Text] For a dozen of so days, TRYBUNA LUDU says, we have witnessed another case of propagandist drum beating. This time the excuse is the issue of passports for Lech Walesa and some other people invited to the congress of an international conference of free trade unions in Australia.

It is significant that noise has been made about this issue before Polish authorities made their final decisions. This proves, the paper says, that the invitation was issued with the aim of instigating a provocative action, planned beforehand and on a wide scale, as part of the propaganda war that certain foreign agencies and some groups in the country carry out systematically, although with varying degrees of intensity, against our state and its system.

The author of the article points out that the moment to launch another action aimed against Poland was chosen when the authorities are making efforts to create the broadest accord, and when our state is effectively rebuilding its international position.

What is the significance of the fact that Walesa and his friends were invited to the congress of one of the international trade union organizations? Is Walesa's group a union active in Poland, representing the Polish working class? This is only a continuation of the 1986 provocative affiliation of the former Solidarity with the headquarters of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The existence in Poland of the seven million-strong reborn union movement is being overlooked.

The author reminds his readers that the Solidarity organization has lost its social base. It was dissolved in a legal procedure, and, in light of laws in force in Poland, does not exist as such. Groups active under the Solidarity banner are illegal, and millions of those whose mandate Walesa claims to have are today active in the reborn class trade unions.

The organization of free trade unions, in inviting Walesa and his friends, could not have had a doubt as to its provocative aim and its interference in Polish internal affairs, which we have made a habit of solving in Warsaw, not Brussels. Taking into account these very circumstances, Zygmunt (?Dzwonkowski), author of the article, says it is difficult to understand what the organizers of the Australian provocation had in mind. Did they hope that the Polish authorities would contribute to a public slap against the seven million Poles affiliated in the reborn trade unions, or hope that they would help carry out an action against Polish interests? What state in the world would allow this?

However, if the congress organizers' actions do not surprise us—we already have some years' experience—the stance adopted by the Australian authorities does. It is the authorities, through their actions in the form of statements and letters in which it is emphasized that Walesa's visit would have an impact on the consolidation of positive relations between Poland and Australia, that constitute an act of interference in Poland's internal affairs. Concluding the extensive article, the author says that the Polish authorities pursue an open passport policy. Proof of this is in trips abroad by people who present themselves in public, at home and abroad, in the press and other media, as opponents of the Polish political system, and stress their affiliation with the so-called opposition.

The title of the article in TRYBUNA LUDU is "Disgraceful Moves."

## Sejm Motions on Property, Trade Unions

*LD032129 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—The ombudsman submitted a motion to the Sejm presidium to lift legal regulations of April 1985 on the land management and expropriation of real property, under which the right of persons who left real property abroad in connection with the World War II is to expire after December 31, 1988. These persons (their heirs) have now the right to receive the equivalent.

The motion was substantiated by the fact that in connection with a ruling of the constitutional tribunal and a 1987 ruling of the Supreme Court, the rigours of proving the leaving of property (the so-called property situated beyond the Bug River) abroad by citizens were eased, which provided an opportunity for a considerable number of citizens to prove this fact. Thus, the deadline by the end of 1988 becomes unreal.

The ombudsman received a motion signed by a group of citizens concerning not passing by the Council of State a resolution fixing a date from which more than one trade union organization could operate in a factory. The ombudsman said that she was not the proper organ to initiate proceedings in constitutional accountability as only Sejm committees, a group of at least 50 Sejm deputies, the Council of State and the constitutional tribunal have such right.

The fact that the Council of State did not use the right to issue regulations is dictated, as one can think, by political considerations. The fixing of a date from which more than one trade union organization could operate in the factory is a norm-making right of the Council of State and the assessment of the premises and conditions of issuing an appropriate regulation is left to the Council of State. It assesses the purposefulness of issuing such a regulation by itself.

The ombudsman voiced at the same time her hope that the announced work on the Constitution, regulations concerning the assembly of citizens and the fulfilment of announcements on the development of democracy, the rule of law and order and humanism of social relations, contained in the latest documents of political centres, would promote the verification of a number of political decisions to broaden civic rights and freedoms.

### Glowczyk Chairs PZPR Meeting on Media Issues

*LD032358 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*2300 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] The Party Central Committee Propaganda Commission has discussed the tasks of radio and television in the current socioeconomic situation in the first stage of the implementation of the second stage of the reform, and also the results of public opinion research. The role of the mass media in the strengthening of the role of the people's councils and territorial self-management was also discussed. The deliberations were chaired and the discussion was summed up by Jan Glowczyk.

### Abridged 6th Plenum Document on Reform

*AU021831 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*
*26 Feb 88 pp 3, 4*

[Abridged version of the "Plan for the Implementation of the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum Resolution"—full text of document will appear in FAKTY I KOMENTARZE]

[Text] I. [Roman one]

"We will consistently continue to pursue the line of socialist renewal. It is permanent, stems from the essence of socialist development, and expresses not only our concern about correcting errors but is, above all, a process of constantly adapting our socialist system to changing social circumstances. We will steadfastly realize the policy of accord, struggle, and reform"—these words, which are contained in the PZPR program, describe the approach that has given rise to the documents and decisions adopted at the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

The Central Committee has expressed its determination to continue the socialist renewal policy. The Central Committee believes that reforms have to be implemented in a consistent and comprehensive manner with a view to achieving:

—further democratic changes in and greater public efficiency on the part of the state authorities, the expansion of self-management, the strengthening of law, order, and discipline in public life, a broader base for national accord, and enhanced forms of social dialogue;

—faster implementation of qualitative changes in management in order to increase efficiency and better satisfy public needs, resolute implementation of the modified program for the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform, faster attainment of economic equilibrium, the expansion of enterprises, stricter criteria for efficient management, and more far-reaching changes in the structure of production and that of the economy;

—a deeper theoretical interpretation of key problems pertaining to national development, and fuller coordination of ideological, educational, and propaganda activity with the goals of the socialist renewal of the economy and the political system;

—changes to the ways and means whereby the PZPR performs its role of leading, guiding, and serving in line with changing socioeconomic and political goals and conditions.

The achievements of the last 6 years have created appropriate conditions for the new stage in reforming the state and the economy. We have surmounted great difficulties while bearing the burden imposed by debt and economic sanctions in a situation in which the amount of working time has been reduced, and we have succeeded in averting the most serious economic dangers, restoring the upward trend in production and the shaping of national income, and halting the decline in the standard of living in general terms. Order and calm has been restored in public life, the extent of national accord is increasing, and dialogues about the most important problems concerning our existence are being continued. This would not have been possible without progress in implementing economic reforms and far-reaching democratic changes in the way in which power is exercised. The implementation of the reform-oriented strategy was also the most important condition enabling our country to recover its appropriate position in the socialist community and the international arena.

Socialist renewal has gained strong political, social, and psychological foundations. The belief that the reforms being undertaken in Poland are objectively necessary and historically essential has impressed itself on the public mind.

The sixth plenum also concluded that needs and conditions are now ripe for a fundamental acceleration and deepening of changes. Taking changes no further than at present would not make it possible to effectively solve current problems and would entail the danger of stagnation or even regression.

The party considered it necessary to obtain conscious social support for the scope, form and rate of implementing the proposed program of economic and political changes and thus expressed support for conducting a nationwide referendum. The outcome of the referendum, although not formally binding, indicated that the social front for reform forces had expanded and imposed the undertaking of consistently implementing the radical

political and economic changes announced in the Politburo report submitted at the sixth Central Committee plenum and the implementation program for the second stage of the economic reform. Taking into account the content of the discussion preceding the referendum and the outcome of the nationwide poll, the party also expressed support for modifications in the way in which changes should be instituted, so that they very closely satisfy social expectations and, at the same time, accord with the basic concept and logic of the reform. This was expressed in the sixth plenum resolution, which was adopted after the referendum and during the second half of the meeting of the Central Committee.

The continuation of socialist renewal in the political, economic, and ideological spheres and in the way in which the party operates consists of a whole series of legislative and political undertakings and organizational undertakings relating to theoretical, educational, and propaganda work. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo adopted a detailed schedule for realizing these undertakings, defined the party bodies responsible for providing the political inspiration for and supervision of the implementation of every one of the concrete decisions that were made, and, in agreement with the State Council and the Council of Ministers, it indicated which state organs were responsible for accomplishing various tasks. Some of the planned undertakings initiated directly after the sixth plenum are already in the process of being implemented. Here is an outline of the most important activities undertaken as a result of the decision made at the sixth Central Committee plenum and the inspiration that it provided.

II. [Roman two]

1. Following broad discussion, during preparations for the sixth plenum it was confirmed that there is a need for more extensive work on analyzing and predicting future trends for the development of the socialist Polish state. The discussion preceding the plenum revealed a whole series of questions requiring fuller elucidation with respect to doctrine, for example: the relationship between state organs and self-government bodies; the structure of the highest organs of the state, including the model for the system of representation; the role of associations in the socialist political system, and so on. During the first half of 1988 the party will set up a working group that will define future trends for the development of the Polish socialist state. It will begin its work straight away, and the results that it produces will be used to formulate practical political recommendations in the future, including amendments to the PPR Constitution.

2. The leading role of representative bodies among organs of the socialist state will be strengthened. The PZPR Sejm Deputies' Club will work to increase the effectiveness of the leadership functions performed by the Sejm by, inter alia, initiating annual Sejm debates devoted to analyzing and defining the main directions of state policy and establishing the best possible means for resolving key social and economic problems relating to the economic reform, housing construction, the protection of the environment, and feeding the nation. The Sejm's legislative functions will be improved and will be based on a broader foundation of views, expert opinion, and suggestions. The enhancement of the control functions of the leading representative organ will be assisted by concentrating the deputies' attention on how laws are implemented, the elimination of inconsistencies and contradictions in this area, and making suggestions designed to improve the standard of future legislative decisions. Studies will be conducted on the concept of a second chamber for the Polish Parliament.

3. The year 1988 will also see the institution of important changes designed to strengthen the institutional role of people's councils. These changes will be continued in 1989. They will cover, inter alia: amendments—which have already been submitted for public discussion—to the law on the system of people's councils and regional self-management designed to strengthen the financial foundations of independent people's council activity, the creation of stable principles for local economies, strengthening the authority of people's councils with respect to their executive and administrative organs, increasing the tasks, powers, and material assets of councils—especially at the lowest level—and increasing the powers of urban and rural residents' self-management bodies. In order to strengthen the material foundations of the leading and self-management role of people's councils, most of the enterprises whose parent bodies have been ministries will now come under their authority. The powers of councils with regard to economic and self-management units operating in their regions will be increased. More favorable conditions enabling councils to establish new enterprises of their own will be created. Work will also be started on preparing a law on the creation and functioning of communal ownership. There are also plans to expand the powers of voivodship people's councils to select voivodas and to strengthen the legal position of council members with reference to the immunity granted to Sejm deputies.

4. The powers of regional self-management bodies will be systematically developed. There will be an examination of existing regional divisions within voivodships conducted from the viewpoint of the need to meet demands for greater self-management and independence. A report on the state of communes and predictions concerning their development over the next 15 to 20 years will serve as the basis for work of this kind. The possibility of coordinating the duration of the term of office for people's councils with that of socioeconomic plans and the consequences that this would entail will be examined.

5. Changes to the electoral code and the goals of the election campaign, which will result in the election of primary and voivodship level people's councils, will be

closely linked to the objective of increasing the role of such councils. In line with the intentions expressed in the documents adopted at the sixth plenum, the amended electoral code should increase the influence of citizens on the selection of council members and thus should establish a closer, more binding and authentic link between council members and local communities. Groups of PZPR council members should put forward initiatives requesting an assessment of the political achievements of a term of office at final people's council meetings and the extent to which citizens' suggestions made during election campaigns and the campaign preceding the referendum have been realized. This would provide a basis for the formulation of suggestions for newly elected councils. It should also be requested that the resolutions adopted at these sessions be made public.

6. In their work, party echelons and organizations, and PZPR council members in particular, should accord special attention to effectively coordinating and inspiring the activities conducted by various types of self-management bodies—employee, regional, and trade union self-management bodies, and on establishing an effective link between self-management body work and the demands generated by the economic reform.

Studies will be produced designed to establish the types of decisionmaking situations that are conducive to the effective use of local referendums from the point of view of democracy. The Politburo calls on current and future groups of PZPR council members to put forward initiatives for the use of public ballots to resolve various problems concerning the development of communes and towns wherever conditions are ripe.

7. In line with the decisions adopted at the sixth plenum, undertakings aimed at increasing the social effectiveness of the state administration will be stepped up. There will be a systematic review of legal regulations connected with the functioning of the state administration with a view to ensuring that they suit the new principles for the economy and the state. During the first half of 1988 legislation defining the principles for reforming the economy will be reviewed in order to eliminate those items of legislation that run counter to the principles of the second stage of the economic reform. Improvements to regional state administrative structures—corresponding to the new, simplified structure of the highest, central organs of the state—will be introduced during 1988. Steps designed to reduce the number of formalities involved in official procedures and to make it easier for state offices to perform the work that citizens require will be continued. The government will review legislation defining state office procedures in individual matters and will introduce appropriate changes to executory regulations and will propose legislative changes.

The culmination of changes to the structures and functions of the state administration will be the formulation and adoption of law on the Council of Ministers by the end of 1989. This law—the first law of its kind in the history of legislation in People's Poland—will outline a model for the government and the administrative organs that come under its authority so that they suit new socioeconomic conditions and requirements.

8. Improving and democratizing the political system will go hand in hand with increasing the importance of the law and its rule. The bill on creating laws will be completed in 1988. It will favor the stability and cohesion of new regulations, prevent an inflation of regulations, and ensure that the laws and resolutions passed by representative bodies of the state authorities are overriding vis-a-vis executive regulations. The judicial control of administrative decisions will be expanded by restricting the number of the issues reserved for other procedures of appeal. The economic judicial system will be organized on the organizational and cadre basis of economic arbitration. The control mechanism of the state and the economy will be streamlined by suitably improving its functioning. In 1988 we will complete the draft reform of the penal law, which will curb the severity of regulations in favor of strengthening the resocializing and educating functions of punishment. The party will support the initiative of the Association of Polish Lawyers to set up the Social Committee for Civic Rights. At the same time, we will extend the program of educational activities aimed at raising the standards of people's political culture and legal knowledge.

9. In 1988 we will begin changing our Constitution. Discussions will tell us whether our Constitution must only be modified or replaced. As an overriding act of legislation, the Constitution should reflect the current state of socioeconomic and political changes, experience to date, and institutional and political norms that came into being during the implementation of socialist renewal.

10. An ever increasing role will be played by party initiatives, decisions, and activities designed to facilitate the full articulation and coordination of the different interests of groups and to trigger civic energy for the sake of national accord, while respecting pluralism and openness and strengthening the principle of coalition in the Polish system of government.

Party members in PRON should provide programmatic and organizational inspiration in order to boost PRON's role as inspirer and ally of the territorial self-government bodies and social organizations—as a forum for exchanging and enriching their experience and as a mediator in disputes in this area of socialist democracy. Political inspiration vis-a-vis PRON should help attract unattached militant citizens to PRON's goals, initiatives, and activities. This should be done through discussion clubs possessing extensive programs and through other measures.

As a PRON signatory, the party will create political conditions for the movement's active participation in social discussions seeking to work out legal enactments

that help democratize the government system and promote initiatives aimed at increasing PRON's role in personnel policy.

The Politburo is in favor of setting up, wherever possible, civic conventions within the voivodship people's councils. These conventions should be representatives of the variety of thoughts and activities of the persons committed to solving Polish problems in the process of renewal.

11. A new bill on associations will be drawn up in 1988.

The new law, which will replace the present 55-year-old one, should simplify rules about establishing new associations and curb administrative interference in seeing whether the aims of a new association are compatible with our legal-political system. Courts will control decisions that refuse the registration, suspension, or dissolution of an association. The new law should also define possibilities for transferring some functions of the state apparatus to associations.

To ensure complete openness in public life, the Central Committee Secretariat will analyze the effectiveness of press criticism as an important public weapon of control and activity to improve economic, social, and political conditions in Poland and in individual job and local communities.

12. We will develop and enrich the principles of cadre policy, which is open and which favors effectiveness, innovation, and independent activity. The seventh Central Committee plenum will examine the realization of these principles. This examination will follow the basic criterion of agreement between the selection, promotion, improvement, and evaluation of cadres, on the one hand, and the new needs of the reformed economy and state, on the other. The plenum will determine cadre policy activities so as to consolidate positive trends and to overcome existing weaknesses and irregularities.

III. [Roman three]

The modified implementation program adopted by the Sejm on 10 February 1988 establishes specific tasks of realizing the second stage of the economic reform in line with the stand of the fifth and sixth plenums. The realization of this program should help gradually achieve economic balance, create more room for economic activities, especially for efforts to raise the effectiveness of the public sector, consolidate socialist relations in the working communities, ensure better realization of justice, increase the working people's standard of living, solve urgent social problems, accelerate housing construction, and improve health care. The party, the state executive bodies, and all institutions and organizations participating in the economic reform will focus their efforts on these tasks.

1. In line with the fifth and sixth plenum decisions, we will boost efforts to achieve more rapidly economic balance, especially fiscal and market balance, by first of all increasing all supplies. We will strengthen those institutional solutions that encourage the production of goods and services for people. Better exploitation of free production capacities, local raw materials, and manpower will be an important task.

During the first 6 months of 1988 the government will analyze investment plans to see if changes can be made to ensure stronger priority for investments that help to improve the flow of consumer goods.

The joint session of the PZPR Politburo and the ZSL Presidium will evaluate the realization of the 11th PZPR-ZSL plenum resolution and will determine further activities to boost food production.

We will help to achieve the balance of the farming market by increasing supplies of farm production equipment and by improving the procurement of and transactions with farm produce. Appropriate state bodies will make legal and organizational decisions in order to improve the use of land and the structure of farms, to accelerate the integration of scattered farming plots, to simplify sales of land, and to increase newcomers' interest in acquiring land. Special attention will be paid to intensifying animal production by promoting greater efficiency and removing obstacles to initiative in this regard.

In these activities the party counts on support from agricultural circles and organizations active in farming and the food economy. It also counts on the intensive implementation of their social, vocational, and economic functions.

2. Creating more room for the enterprising spirit and initiative in the socialist economy is our long-term socioeconomic goal. At the end of 3 quarters of 1988 the Council of Ministers will appraise how far the reformed bodies of the central economic administration continue to influence the realization of the economic reform. In 1988 we will also gradually decentralize the functions of the founding bodies of a number of enterprises and transfer these functions to the field. By the end of 1988 we will have completed the review of organizational structures, the introduction of the methods by which jobs are certified, and the task of simplifying economic records and statistical accountability in economic units. The report on the organization of the state and the economy will be presented to the second national conference of delegates. We will implement the law on countering monopolistic practices in the economy. Consistent efforts to make organizational structures of the economy more flexible should help boost the enterprising spirit, eliminate the institutional barriers enterprise, and ensure a rational transmission of material and fiscal resources between economic units.

In 1988 we will draw up principles of communal ownership and create regulations to extend opportunities for establishing companies that include public economy units. We will create conditions for the issuance of bonds by state bodies and enterprises.

Party organizations and committees will pay special attention to properly using the extended independence of state enterprises to promote work forces' initiative and enterprise, to streamline motivational systems, to expedite modern, collective forms of work organization, including the brigade system, and to create conditions conducive to the development of the workers rationalizing and inventive movement. They will sponsor and support original strategies for the development of enterprises and will evaluate managing cadres by their abilities to cope with new economic and political requirements and to create the right atmosphere for rationalization, innovations, and new social and productive initiatives.

Party echelons will support civic initiatives to promote innovations, to strengthen effective management, and to boost the importance of the enterprising spirit, especially in the public sector, which is the basis of the country's socioeconomic development.

In the fist 6 months of 1988 the cooperative movement will draw up its reform program in line with the second stage of the economic reform.

3. We will take further measures to ensure economic equality and conditions for all economic sectors. In the first quarter of 1988 we will define the development lines of small-scale production, trades, and services under the conditions of the second stage of the economic reform. The party will support the SD's initiative to define in the Constitution the place of individual economic activities in the national economy. By the end of 1988 we will modify fiscal policy with regard to the private sector so as to put it on the same level with the public sector insofar as taxation and access to credits are concerned.

4. The party will sponsor and support activities to fully realize the democratic, educational, and sociocultural goals of the economic reform, will strengthen the positions of workers self-management bodies, and will seek to enrich the non-economic functions of enterprises and of trade union organizations, professional and vocational associations, youth unions, and so on, operating in enterprises. The party will ensure favorable conditions for the performance of the Enterprise Training and Information Centers.

5. The party will continue to actively attend to the social tasks of the second stage of the economic reform and by the end of 1988 will appraise price-incomes policy for the next few years. One of the tasks of this policy will be to create favorable conditions for protecting the real value of the incomes of all groups of society and for greater opportunities to raise standards of living by increasing the effectiveness of work and economic management. Streamlined wage systems should help to more strongly tie incomes to production results. The mechanisms of the second stage of the reform will be used to implement measures aimed at improving working conditions, safety arrangements, recreation, and leisure for workers. At the end of the first 6 months of 1988 the Council of Ministers will submit to the Central Committee a plan for comprehensive activities connected with promoting housing construction, improving the supply of medicines and toiletries, and implementing the social policy vis-a-vis pensioners and young families. A long-term concept of the state's social policy will be presented to the National Conference of PZPR Delegates. The Academy of Social Sciences will draw up a report on the current differentiations within the Polish community, paying special attention to harmonizing the interests of its individual classes and segments.

Achieving economic balance, updating various parameters, and using social and legal instruments with increasing resolution should help to make more effective our struggle against the reasons why people make incomes out of proportion to their actual work and should help to eliminate profiteering, the vulture-like chase after riches, and other forms of parasitism.

6. Consistent realization of the tasks of the second stage of the economic reform is the basic commitment of party echelons. The Central Committee will examine a report on the realization of the second stage of the economic reform at least once a year, analyzing actual progress made in economic effectiveness, in economic balance, and in export and registering the impact of the reform on standards of living and on the extent to which the working people's daily needs are met. The Politburo will continue to consistently evaluate the current realization of the program for the second stage of the economic reform. Basic party organizations operating in enterprises will evaluate at least once a year the implementation of new economic principles and solutions in their own enterprises, paying attention to the implementation of technological and organizational progress, to improvements in the quality of production, to the realization of conservation programs, and to the efficiency of the enterprise wage systems.

7. The implementation of new institutional solutions and the acceleration of qualitative changes in the economy will go hand in hand with intensified efforts to promote the long-term program for Poland's socioeconomic development and the model of the national economy embracing strategic goals of development and the resulting means and lines of activities.

IV. [Roman four]

1. The Sixth Central Committee Plenum addressed to the Marxist social sciences a series of specific postulates involving research, and defined the tasks necessary to

strengthen scientific instruments of control over social processes, and thus develop a doctrine of socialist construction that suits the specific national features of the Polish path of socialism.

The following are among the most important areas of research today: the theory of ownership; the question of enterprise; collective and individual economic activity in a socialist system; relationships between planning and the market; and the problem of differences in wages, work incentives, and social security. An important area of research is also alterations to society's class and socioprofessional structure, including the position, role and alliances of the workers class; its internal differences; and further changes wrought by scientific progress and changes to the structure of employment and to the professional qualifications. Relationships between "top" and "bottom" factors of socialist construction, dialectics on the role of the individual and collective, and the speed and path of changes to social consciousness all require deeper sociological analysis. It is necessary to develop research on the functions of the state and the role of its bodies during the development of self-management; on the processes whereby different social interests are expressed and coordinated; on problems of socialist pluralism and national accord; on the precepts and conditions of an effective cadre policy; and on ways of efficient party functioning during the democratization of the political system and the economic reforms. These problems should be duly reflected in the research programs of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Academy of Social Sciences, colleges, and scientific institutions.

2. The concentration of theoretical and publishing activity by Marxist scholars on priority research tasks will be encouraged by the Third All-Polish Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference in the second half of 1988, and by the Second All-Polish Party Social Sciences Conference in the first half of 1989.

The first of these conferences will be devoted to theoretical problems of implementing the strategy of renewal, and the second will deal with ways of increasing the influence of the social sciences on political and economic practice.

The PZPR Social Sciences Academy will increase its activity as the inspirer and coordinator of research into those areas that are of the greatest importance from the point of view of long-term objectives of party policy. It will recruit more students and select cadres from the best school and college graduates. It will increase its role in the integration of Marxist social science milieus, and will also animate theoretical dialogue with representatives of non-Marxist paths of research.

3. Concerning the development of scientific research, the Sixth Central Committee Plenum believes that the party should permit the broadest possible liberties—from deciding on research topics right up to the publication of the results of research. The plenum believes that it is according to these principles and in this spirit that the law on publications and performances should be interpreted, in that part of it dealing with scientific publications. At the same time, the party will encourage and back scientific work inspired by Marxist social theory and the socialist value system.

4. Mechanisms permitting direct influence by Marxist theoreticians on the shaping of party ideological work and policy will be expanded. For this purpose, a system of providing scientific advice in the work of the Central Committee and voivodship committees will be expanded. In the work of party bodies, broader use will be made of medium-term and long-term political forecasts, and the results of public opinion polls will be examined and used in an appropriate way.

As part of the preparations for the Third All-Polish Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference, various forms of scientific activity such as analyses, publications, and discussions on socialist renewal will be encouraged. The team that was appointed by the Sixth Plenum to prepare and hold the conference will organize over a dozen national seminars devoted to the ideological-theoretical problems that are arising during the economic and political reforms. The following topics will be subjected to exhaustive discussion:

—The development of socialist pluralism and national accord,

—The development of ownership during the present stage of changes to the socialist economy, and an increase in the efficiency of and enhancement of socialist justice during the economic reform,

—The new functions and forms of party activity in a reformed economy and state.

5. A review will be carried out of internal party education in order to bring it closer in line with the most important objectives of renewal and introduce more modern and attractive education methods and resources. Education inside the party will be more dependent on the commitment of PZPR members and bodies in implementing the economic reform, democratizing the political system, gaining social support for party policy and polemizing with the party's opponents, and altering the way in which the party performs its leadership role. Higher status will be accorded to studies at the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism, completion of which should be an important criterion in the assessment and promotion of leadership cadres.

6. Party bodies will create conditions permitting the mass media to perform their political role in the development of socialist democracy, enhancing national accord, and reforming and modernizing the economy. Greater use will be made of the press, radio, and television in order to express various social opinions and attitudes, conduct dialogue and discussion, and present

in a clear and militant way the party stance on key problems of the country's development. The mass media will have a greater involvement in shaping patterns for good work and social commitment; conducting long-term historic, economic, and patriotic-civic education; and publicizing the norms and values of humanitarianism and rationalism; as well as in exposing and counteracting social wrongdoing and preventing unjustified complacency, which is a form of opposition to the negative phenomena presented by reality.

A system of visual propaganda, better suited to current needs and society's interest, will be introduced by the end of the year.

7. The role of valuable sociopolitical literature which promotes the most important spheres of scientific knowledge and the most valuable social attitudes, will be increased. This will be encouraged by better economic conditions for publishing such literature, an effort to recruit more authors and raise literary and editorial standards, and improve printing processes. These tasks will be tackled by the PZPR Central Committee Council for Sociopolitical Books.

8. Celebrations of important historic anniversaries such as the 70th anniversary of independence, 40th anniversary of the united workers' movement, 70th anniversary of the Polish Communist Party [KPP], 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, and 45th anniversary of the formation of the Polish People's Army should encourage civic education and research into and dissemination of historical knowledge that is free from distortion.

V. [Roman five]

The party is the ideological and political promoter of accelerated renewal. It is its class and patriotic duty to set tasks for all PZPR cells, organizations, and members. There is no greater party duty than the ability to control the reform processes, gain social support for them, and expand the social base of socialist renewal.

This calls for faster changes within the party, "the same party but not the same as it was." It calls for changes to the way in which it performs its leading role in order to conform to new requirements and the new socioeconomic conditions. In the work of party committees and organizations, heavier emphasis will be laid on activity by political methods, eliminating the last vestiges of the order-type system of administration, promoting daily dialogue with people, and learning about the worries and aspirations of working people. The structures of internal party work will be improved in order to make them more democratic and at the same time more efficient and free from formalism and excessive accountability. This must be accompanied by increased discipline and greater consistency in the performance of decisions. The party will lead by means of its influence on representative, self-management, social, and executive bodies; by means of an open cadre policy based on social support; by gaining social support for the adopted program; and by means of an energetic policy of control which examines the social effects of implementing policy.

Party committees will devote particular attention to increasing the numbers of party aktivs, supplying them with full and up-to-date information, increasing their knowledge and political qualifications, and increasing their role in party life and in working out paths of party action and party decisions.

In order to make party leadership during the process of transformations more effective:

—Party committees will hold talks with party members belonging to people's councils, self-management bodies, and social organizations about their role in making all these institutions more efficient in implementing the second stage of the economic reform and making political life more democratic;

—Party committees and organizations will form political conclusions stemming from the opinions expressed during the pre-referendum campaign. At party meetings, they will discuss some complicated problems of Polish reality, including emigration for work purposes, tourism with a view to carrying out speculation and amassing profits, alcoholism, and aggressive profiteering;

—Party organizations will hold talks with professionally and socially outstanding nonparty people, especially young people, in order to encourage them to implement the second stage of the reform in their own work place. They will permit a greater role and greater energy by social organizations and trade unions in this area. They will care for energetic and talented young people, encourage unconventional forms of activity by young people, support their advancement, and encourage programmatic activity by youth organizations,

—Before the National Conference of Delegates there will be private talks with party members which will discuss their ideological, political, moral, and professional attitudes, and their contribution to the performance of the party program, to the implementation of the second stage of the reform, and to the democratization of sociopolitical life.

In order to assure a complete implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Plenum, PZPR primary, factory, rural, urban-rural, and urban committees will establish their tasks in implementing the plenum resolution. The PZPR Deputies Club and members belonging to the remaining state supreme bodies, PRON, and social organizations will see to it that these bodies form their own programs to supplement those inspired by the Sixth Plenum resolution.

Each year, the Central Committee will hear a report on the implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Plenum. These decisions have specified the way in which the changes decreed by the 10th Congress are to be carried out. In the first half of the year, the Central Committee will carry out a comprehensive analysis of the implementation of the 10th Congress resolution and the degree to which the tasks contained in the central plan of implementing this resolution have been carried out.

### Papers, FRG's Kohl Appraise NATO Summit

*LD041227 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1050 GMT 4 Mar 88*

[Text] Warsaw, March 4—TRYBUNA LUDU writes today that the two documents adopted by the NATO summit in Brussels were marked by propaganda, by fragmentary character of drafts and proposals addressed to socialist states, and by incoherence in presenting long-range political plans.

"All that the NATO leaders brought themselves to do was a series of propaganda gestures which failed to give a full answer to the comprehensive programme of disarmament and international cooperation forwarded by Gorbachev and socialist states. They want to calm down their societies with assurances of the unity of the alliance and of successes they claim to have achieved.

"(The documents) show too much wishful thinking and too little reality which should have stemmed from experience. Too much propaganda aimed at social approval and not at success of the future East-West negotiations," the paper says.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI says for its part that in the context of the processes initiated by the Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Washington, guidelines contained in the two documents could simply be called a cold-war step backwards.

"Nothing can be achieved today on the platform of security and disarmament through forcing unilateral far-going concessions instead of an honest negotiation offer. There is concrete evidence for this. Such an approach can but baffle the hitherto progress."

In a commentary in the wake of the NATO summit, RZECZPOSPOLITA also brings a statement by Chancellor Kohl on the FRG Government's "ostpolitik" in the light of documents adopted in Brussels, given in response to a question posed at a news conference by RZECZPOSPOLITA'S special correspondent.

"Our policy is based on two integral fundamental elements. The first one is the membership of the Western community, the Atlantic alliance and the EEC. The other mainstay is the Eastern policy.

"We are ready and we are also in a position—with no complexes—to conduct a dialogue with our Eastern neighbours, particularly with Poland which I am going to visit. Since the times of Adenauer we have treated with the utmost concern the relations with Israel, France (with which, despite terrible experiences in the past, we managed to reconcile), and with Poland. I hope that we will also move forward on this road and my hopes for progress in bilateral relations are linked with the prospects for negotiations on conventional weapons and with the processes taking place in Eastern European states," the daily quoted Kohl as saying.

"I record these words but I cannot help thinking that the stand adopted by the North Atlantic Pact at the Brussels summit will affect bilateral relations between the NATO states and the socialist community countries, and the tempo of the CSCE process," concluded RZECZPOSPOLITA'S commentator.

### Journalist Discusses Polish-Jewish Relations

*AU031757 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish*
*1 Mar 88 p 5*

[Interview with Milo Anstadt, Jewish-Dutch journalist, television director, and author of many publications on Polish-Jewish relations, by Marek Rudzinski: "Myths About Polish Anti-Semitism"—in Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] The 7-day seminar for Israeli and Jewish journalists ended in Warsaw. The seminar was attended by guests from Israel, Austria, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Great Britain, and the United States.

[Rudzinski] Why are you interested in the subject of Polish-Jewish relations?

[Anstadt] I get annoyed when I read all the time in the Western press about the Polish people's horrible conduct during the war. But I know that the conduct of Dutchmen, Frenchmen, and other nations was not at all any better.

[Rudzinski] Your publications, which I regard as most balanced, have not been too well received in the Netherlands. Why?

[Anstadt] I wrote about that in one of my most recent articles. You see, Lantzman's movie "Shoah" portrays the Poles as horrible anti-Semites. Both Jews and gentiles in the Netherlands think that every Pole is anti-Semitic.

[Rudzinski] Does the myth about Polish anti-Semitism continue to persist in the West?

[Anstadt] Yes, it does. This is a most topical issue, one about which much is being written.

[Rudzinski] Why is this so?

[Anstadt] You see, the Jews who survived the war often encountered features of anti-Semitism. Those of them who were inmates of concentration camps had little opportunity to meet with assistance from the Poles and those who received this assistance rarely became such inmates. The Jews who survived concentration camps did not even know how many Jews survived outside such camps. It also seems to me that during the war the Jews were so isolated from the outside world that they did not even know what repressions the Poles themselves were subjected to. In my article I wrote that in the 26-million strong Polish population 150,000 Jews managed to escape death and that in the 8-million strong Dutch nation 30,000 managed to do so, which was proportionally fewer.

[Rudzinski] In your articles you say that the attitude of the Catholic Church made a very negative impact on the development of Polish-Jewish relations during the 900 years of cohabitation.

[Anstadt] It is enough to study old documents and to read the Episcopate's statements that the population must be told that Jews get their punishment because they murdered Jesus. Fortunately, in those days, at the very beginning, the church was not so strong because all power was held by the kings. And the kings protected the Jews as the people they brought into Poland to develop the economy.

[Rudzinski] Do the present events in the Israeli-occupied territories have any impact on revising the evaluations of the attitude toward the Jews before the war?

[Anstadt] No. That is another problem, although most Dutchmen are now more critical of Israel. I myself signed a protest addressed to the Israeli Embassy in the Netherlands.

### Citizens Support Government Foreign Policy

*LD041005 Warsaw PAP in English*
*0055 GMT 4 Mar 88*

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—In a poll on how Poles assess Poland's foreign policy, carried out by the social opinion research centre CBOS, a decisive majority of the polled, over 73 percent, positively assessed the foreign policy of the government, deeming it as one corresponding to the interests of the society.

Negative evaluations amounted to 20.3 percent while 5.4 percent of the polled did not have any opinion on the matter. There is also a widespread conviction that Poland's position on the international arena is improving. Every second respondent expressed such an opinion.

The poll also asked what Poles thought about Poland's membership in the Warsaw Treaty. A vast majority (70 percent) of the respondents firmly supported Poland's membership in the allied military bloc of socialist countries. 22.5 percent of the polled thought that Poland should become a neutral country. Only 3 percent of the correspondents declared support for Poland joining the military bloc of Western states. The remaining respondents did not express any opinion on the matter.

Another question put in the poll read: "which countries, following the experience of past years, should be counted among Poland's true allies." The Soviet Union was mentioned most frequently (45.7 percent), followed by Hungary and Czechoslovakia. 5.7 percent of the polled pointed to the United States as Poland's ally.

### Orzechowski Concludes Thailand Visit

*LD032346 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2205 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[By PAP correspondent Stanislaw Grzymski]

[Text] Bangkok, March 3—Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski today ended his official visit to the Kingdom of Thailand.

The visit was an important stage of the Asian trip of the chief of Polish diplomacy and constituted a continuation of the political dialogue between both countries. Poland has been traditionally interested in South-East Asia due to its dynamic economic development, ever more modern technologies and raw materials.

During plenary talks, chaired by Marian Orzechowski and Siddhi Savetsila, the sides positively assessed Polish-Thai relations, especially in the economic field. The trade between both countries last year reached 18.1 million dollars and increased by 62.7 percent over 1986. Polish exports to Thailand increased by 45 percent last year, while its imports rose by 140 percent.

The sides stated that the results posted in trade and economic cooperation, despite their growth, were still too small against the capacities of both countries. Thailand's economic growth rate and Poland's potential and economic reforms create good prospects for these possibilities to be capitalized on. The sides agreed that it was necessary to go beyond the traditional exchange of raw materials and barter trade and to create new forms of cooperation. Capital investments, mutual participation in fairs and exhibitions, Poland's participation in Thailand's developmental programs and other joint undertakings could serve this end.

The foreign ministers stated that a major breakthrough in mutual economic relations could come about only as a result of permanent investment ties. There are opportunities for Poland to export investment projects and for Thailand to expand its offer for the Polish market.

Cultural, scientific-technical and tourist exchange are also fields in which contacts are facilitated by a permanent air link between Warsaw and Bangkok. There is a need to increase the number of weekly flights from two to three. Relevant institutions from both countries will tackle the matter.

During talks the sides also expressed a will to expand cooperation in agriculture, medicine, bio-technology, exchange programs for scientists, students and post-graduates.

As the chief of Thai diplomacy, Siddhi Savetsila stressed in his toast during the reception given in honour of Marian Orzechowski, the prosperity of Poland and Thailand depends not only on the economic field but also on political stability and peace. During the talks the sides drew special attention to the key matters of global politics and in their context touched upon regional issues. The sides expressed a hope that the upcoming Soviet-American summit would result in further progress in the nuclear disarmament between both superpowers.

The ministers agreed that Poland and Thailand should cooperate for peace and stability in their respective regions and in the world. Minister Siddhi Savetsila spoke with appreciation about Poland's experience in solving conflicts in South-East Asia, recalling her constructive participation in the work of the supervision and control commission in Indochina. Both sides were at one that the problem of Kampuchea should be solved through peace negotiations, in line with the aspirations of that country and in the interest of all states of the region.

A cordial atmosphere prevailed during the audience granted to Minister Orzechowski by the king of Thailand, Bhumibol Adulyadej, King Rama. In the course of the talk the sides expressed satisfaction at the state of current relations and spoke in favour of their further comprehensive development.

Today, on the last day of his stay in Thailand, Orzechowski was received by Prime Minsiter Gen. Prem Tinsulanon and met with Speaker of the Senate and President of the National Assembly Ukrit Mongkolnavin.

The sides positively assessed the hitherto economic relations and political dialogue between Poland and Thailand. They expressed a will of both the states to further intensify them and tighten contacts between the Sejm (parliament) of Poland and the National Assembly of Thailand. This cooperation will be discussed during the planned visit of the Sejm speaker to Thailand.

The chief of Polish diplomacy leaves for an official visit to Malaysia tomorrow.

### Visit to Thailand, Malaysia

For accounts of the visits to Thailand and Malaysia by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, see the Thailand and Malaysia sections of the 2 March East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

### Environmental Talks With GDR, CSSR Conclude

*LD032337 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1919 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Jelenia Gora, March 3—The tri-lateral meeting of representatives of the Polish, Czechoslovak and the GDR Governments to discuss environmental protection ended in Jelenia Gora, south-western Poland, today. During the three-day ecological summit, Polish, Czechoslovak and GDR Vice-Premiers Jozef Koziol, Jaromir Obzina and Hans Reichelt confirmed the concordance of stands of the three neighbouring countries that the existing good cooperation should be broadened and deepened, making it even more effective.

The three vice-premiers also agreed that a tri-lateral agreement on cooperation in environmental protection and water economy would be prepared and signed. The vice-premiers signed a protocol on cooperation in environmental protection, deciding also that the next tri-lateral meeting of representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR would be held in Czechoslovakia in 1989.

Sizing up the Jelenia Gora ecological summit as an unprecedented one, Vice-Premier Jozef Koziol told PAP reporter: "We recommended our governments to set up a standing tri-lateral commission to coordinate actions to protect natural environment and I deem comprehensive tri-lateral character of our decisions the most important one."

### GDR'S Krenz Visits Piaseczno Factory

*LD032323 Warsaw Television Service in Polish*
*1830 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] The Unitra-Polkolor enterprise in Piaseczno has been visited by a delegation from the GDR including Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The guest showed his interest in the work of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] brigade that staffs the so-called (?electron gun) construction line. The qualitative demands here are exceptionally high. For several years, Unitra-Polkolor has been carrying scientific-technical and trade exchange with enterprises of similar profile in the GDR. In Berlin, the television tube enterprise is based on the technology of the Japanese Hitachi firm, ours on a U.S. licence. Now, joint construction work is planned on a new type of television tube that would be produced in Polkolor and in Berlin.

[Begin Krenz recording in German with superimposed Polish translation] I am most impressed. This is a modern enterprise. After conversations with the people employed here I take away the impression that they work here willingly and that they are conscious that they are producing a product very sought after on the market. [end recording]

### USSR Envoy Requests Meeting With Ceausescu

*AU031931 Bucharest AGERPRES in English*
*1924 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/3/1988—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received on Thursday E.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Bucharest, at the latter's request.

During the talk held on the occasion questions were approached related to the further development of the friendly and cooperative ties between Romania and the Soviet Union.

### Ceausescu To Visit Guinea in Mid-March

*AU032127 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian*
*2000 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, will pay an official visit of friendship to the Republic of Guinea at the invitation of the chairman of the Military Committee for National Recovery and president of Guinea, Lansana Conte, in the second 10-day period of March 1988.

### Further on People's Councils Conference

*AU031555 Bucharest AGERPRES in English*
*1530 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/3/1988—The Fourth All-Country Conference of the Chairmen of People's Councils started in Bucharest on Thursday in the presence of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Taking their seats in the conference presidium, alongside President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, were full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the central party committee, chairmen of county, municipality, town and commune people's councils.

The proceedings are attended as invited guests by managerial staff ministries and central institutions, party activists, activists of mass and public organizations, first deputy chairmen of executive committees of county and Bucharest municipality people's councils.

The conference's agenda includes reports on the tasks of people's councils to fulfil the plan for socioeconomic development by territorial units in 1988 and throughout this five-year period, the tasks of people's councils in the implementation of the programme for urban and rural locality planning and modernization with a view to highly efficiently using the land and narrowing the buildable areas, for steadily better public facilities in all localities, the activity of people's councils in fulfilling the plan for the development of agriculture and the application of the territorial self-sufficiency programme, the tasks of people's councils derived from the party and state decisions on cultural-educative and medicare activities, improved style and methods of work of people's councils and the use of the democratic framework for the citizens' participation in fulfilling the tasks devolving on the local state power and administration bodies.

The proceedings were opened by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor during the conference.

Then, the participants started debating the items on the conference's agenda.

### Ceausescu Addresses Conference

*AU032104 Bucharest AGERPRES in English*
*1945 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Report on speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at National Conference of People's Councils Chairmen in Bucharest 3 March]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/3/1988—Speaking on March 3 at the opening session of the Fourth All-Country Conference of the Chairmen of People's Councils, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania showed that the democratic forum was called to discuss the work of the local bodies of state power in the first two years of the current five-year period spanning 1986-1990 and set the measures for the further improvement of their activity.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reviewed the great changes in Romania in the years of socialism and stressed that, through a just policy of setting a high rate of accumulation and of maintaining it so, the national wealth had nearly reached 5,000 billion lei, a roughly 20-time or so increase from 1945, with the fixed assets totalling about 3,200 billion lei. That was behind the over 34-time rise in the national income, which was the basis for the working people's pay to rise 13 times or so.

All that was achieved especially since the Ninth RCP Congress that paved the way for the assertion of the revolutionary principles and the democratic development of the Romanian socialist society. Had a new, revolutionary course not been charted to put an end to pre-established patterns, to dogmatism, to the mechanical copying of the experience of other countries, and to firmly fight everything that was old and outdated, to boldly promote the new in every field, the great changes and the multilateral progress of Romania would not have been possible, said the speaker.

The Romanian head of state stressed the importance of the administrative reorganization of the country twenty years ago, showing that by abolishing the regions and districts and creating the counties, it discarded a number of intermediate links and stages to bring the central management closer to the basic units, to the people and in that way provide a proper framework for the policy of rational distribution of the forces of production in the territory, of the harmonious development of counties to be implemented.

The Romanian head of state showed that the total volume of per capita economic activities, worth at least 80,000 lei annually, as set by the Thirteenth RCP Congress, was attained two years earlier, with the exception of two counties—Botosani and Vaslui—which will reach that level by 1989 and that, as far as the per capita industrial production was concerned, 24 counties had attained and topped the minimal level of 50,000 lei, set by the same congress, in 1987. The number of working persons in 1,000 inhabitants throughout the country stood at 489 at the end of 1987, the task of bringing the number of working persons in 1,000 inhabitants to an average 480-500 by the end of the ongoing five-year period being thus filfilled a year ahead of schedule.

While the major branches of material production were evenly located throughout the country, the small industry developed systematically, more particularly in the rural area and in towns with a low potential, and local resources, recoverable materials and manpower were highly capitalized with a view to better meeting the needs of the national economy and the population's requirements for consumer goods.

While socialist industrialization was being achieved action was to build an intensive-type, highly efficient agriculture, with production systematically boosted and the farmers' working and living condition improved, the Romanian head of state said, pointing out that the cereal productions of the last two years—of over 30 million tons—were the largest in the country's history.

The RCP and Romanian state leader outlined Socialist Romania's achievements in the development, diversification and updating of the learning system as a whole, of health care, of cultural-educational activities in all parts of the country.

Romania's president also referred to the people's councils' tasks in fulfilling the strategic goals set by the Thirteenth RCP Congress, the programmes for the socio-economic development of all counties, cities and communes, for the application of the socialist principles of self-management, self-sufficiency and self-administration.

In that context, the speaker stressed that all people's councils should carry on their activity on the basis on their own budgets, and provide for a continuous rise in incomes to cover spending and secure self-financing and to contribute a certain amount of their incomes to the state's centralized budget.

The Romanian head of state spoke at length about the steady urbanization that took place in Romania at the same time with industrialization, showing that the number of towns had grown from 183 to 237 and that the urban population had increased from 7,100,000 to 11,900,000, or 51 percent of the country's total. To solve the problems that that phenomenon had entailed, a wide-ranging urban and rural re-development and modernization programme was made for a longer period of time, up to the year 2000.

In consideration of the fact that some counties and rural settlements had been depopulated, said the speaker, the number of communes in each county and the number of inhabitants of each commune must be established before the end of the year. The aim is to have larger communes with a population of at least 3,000, wherefore the present number of rural settlements is to be reduced in a three-stage process due to end in 2000. As part of this process, the 558 localities where agroindustrial councils operate at present are to become agroindustrial towns before the year 2000.

This is the way to radically wipe out the major differences between towns and villages, to bring the working and living conditions of the working people in the countryside closer to those in towns, to provide for the harmonious development of the whole country, to more powerfully homogenize our socialist society, to create a single worker people, as the purposeful builder of its own free future, of socialism and communism, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed.

The speaker showed that, in their activity as a whole, the people's councils should introduce a new, revolutionary style, continuously strengthen the links with the citizens, which is a requirement for a smooth activity, for the uninterrupted development of revolutionary, worker democracy, they should prove a higher sense of responsibility and receptivity to the problems posed by citizens, should work to strengthen order and discipline, both in their own activity and in defending public property, the property and interests of all working people, in defending and maintaining public order, in strengthening socialist legality.

Referring to the tasks of the political-educational activity aimed at moulding a new man, endowed with a lofty revolutionary consciousness, President Nicolae Ceausescu requested that all retrograde shows, all shows of nationalism and chauvinism, of mysticism, of selfishness and individualism, the tendencies towards parasitism and upstartism, anything that might debase man should be fought against firmly, while action should be taken for the people's education in the spirit of the loftiest ideals of justice and equality, of international solidarity.

We should more resolutely fight any tendencies in a number of citizens, whose outlook is backward, and who think of leaving their country to go elsewhere, the

speaker said and added: From time immemorial, notwithstanding the harshest circumstances, the Romanian people did not leave its homeland, fought against invaders, defeated all hardships and provided for the formation of the nation and of the unitary Romanian national state. Now, when the Romanian people experiences the happiness of having liquidated oppression once and for all, of fully mastering its destiny of purposefully building its own future one cannot understand people who wish to leave their country thinking that somewhere else they could live without having to work. Indeed, there is a folk saying that goes: There are black sheep in every flock. However, our political-educational activity, our activity of cultivating love for work and for the homeland, of building our own future in this country should allow us to have fewer black sheep in our homeland's flocks.

## Ceausescu on Foreign Issues

*AU0?:159 Bucharest AGERPRES in English*
*2125 GMT 3 Mar 88*

["President Nicolae Ceausescu on Certain Current International Issues"—AGERPRES headline—at National Conference of People's Councils Chairmen in Bucharest 3 March]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/3/1988—Referring to certain issues of the current international situation in his speech at the All-Country Conference of the Chairmen of People's Councils on March 3, the head of the Romanian State stressed that Romania had always worked for the broad development of its ties with the socialist countries, with the developing nations, with the developed capitalist states, with all states, regardless of social system, on the basis of the principles of full equality in rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit, renunciation of the use and threat of force. The core issue of our epoch, said the speaker, is to stop arming and resolutely pass to disarmament, nuclear first of all, to defend the supreme right of people and nations to life, to peace, to a free, independent and dignified existence.

Noticing that strong political, economic and military contradictions are maintained and developed in the international life, that certain steps had been taken in addressing certain problems through negotiations, the president showed that it could be said that no radical change had occurred in the way of thinking and acting in international life. The new thinking and way of approaching and settling various complex world issues are only at the beginning, and they are advancing with great difficulty.

Referring to the signing of the accord between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the medium and shorter range nuclear missiles which was indeed an event of historical importance, President Ceausescu considered it as a first step on the road of scrapping the huge stocks of nuclear weapons existing in the world, which can destroy the whole of mankind several times over. That is why, he stressed, greater efforts should be made to reach further accords on cutting strategic nuclear weapons, halting nuclear tests, renouncing space militarization and completely eliminating nuclear weapons.

The Romanian head of state said that one cannot understand the statements of politicians and the intentions of some NATO member states to continue producing and improving nuclear weapons. The intentions of the United States of America and NATO to develop and maintain 4,000 nuclear missiles in Europe are against the accords between the Soviet Union and the United States on several types of nuclear weapons, and actually amount to an intensification of the nuclear arms race in Europe, heightening the danger of a nuclear war, of the destruction of Europe and of the whole world, Nicolae Ceausescu stated.

On behalf of the Romanian people the president called on the NATO countries and the United States of America, as well as on the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries to give up improving and developing new nuclear arms in Europe, to work for the removal of all these weapons from the European nation, of its free and independent existence.

Recalling that Romania had most resolutely declared for the elimination of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, the president said: we are of the opinion that there is a close interdependence between shorter-range nuclear missiles and chemical weapons—and that is why action should be taken for their concomitant liquidation. Nicolae Ceausescu also reiterated his country's stance on the substantial reduction of conventional weapons, the beginning of direct negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on their concomitant abolition, the dismantlement of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other states, the renunciation of big military manoeuvres and shows, of any manouvres and shows at the frontiers of countries.

We think that a 100-150 km corridor should be established between the two military blocs wherefrom troops and armaments, especially tanks, artillery, mechanized means, air force should be withdrawn, Romania's president further said showing that negotiations should start as soon as possible between the two military blocs with the participation of all the European countries, with a view to achieving appropriate accords on disarmament, on building-up confidence in Europe, on the basis of a strict international control, that a real balance of forces should be struck by substantially reducing armaments and completely removing all nuclear and chemical weapons.

Underscoring that Romania favoured the conclusion of the all-European meeting in Vienna with the best possible results, and an improvement of the relations and of the cooperation of the European countries in the economy, technology, science, and other areas, President Ceausescu said that his country was for an approach to

the humanitarian questions and their just settlement starting from the ensurance of the fundamental rights of each people, first of all of the right to work, to education, to life. Special attention should be paid to the ensurance of the right of youth to education, to work, to an active participation in the entire political and social life, said the speaker who showed that a general agreement ought to be concluded among countries on the education of peoples, and of the youths in particular in the spirit of friendship, solidarity, peace and cooperation, on the basis of the equality of rights.

Calling attention on the fact that there are European countries where fascist organizations have renewed their activity, Nicolae Ceausescu said: We take the view that it is more necessary than ever before for the European countries to strengthen their cooperation even more and firmly fight neofascist, chauvinist, revanchist manifestations, the fascist organizations whose hatemongering activities are aimed at deepening the division of as well as mistrust in Europe and the world. We must not wait or accept that the sad experience of the past repeats itself.

We must take most resolute action, put an end to tolerance and the support of the various fascist, neofascist circles, to give a firm response to all racists, revanchists and chauvinists who threaten the independence and security of people, their democratic and independent development, peace.

Reasserting Romania's firm stance in favour of a broad development of cooperation among all the states in the Balkans, for the transformation of the region into a zone of peace and good neighbourliness, free from nuclear and chemical weapons, from foreign military bases, President Nicolae Ceausescu said that the recent Belgrade meeting of Balkan Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the understandings reached on the occasion were of the greatest importance, proving that action can and must be taken for new-type relations among all Balkan countries.

In this respect, the speaker showed, we think that the proposals of Romania and Greece regarding the organization of a Balkan summit in Bucharest are topical and of vital importance for the working out of a complex programme of development of cooperation on an economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other planes, as part of cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Speaking up for the elimination of the use and threat of force from interstate relations, for an end to the conflicts in various parts of the world and their exclusively pacific, negotiated settlement, the Romanian head of state said: We are of the opinion that it is imperative that an international conference on the Middle East should be called, to be attended by all the countries concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel. One should understand that the situation in the Middle East requires that everything possible be done for a comprehensive solution which should ensure the settlement of the Palestinian people's question in the first place, on the basis of its right to self-determination, to an independent state of its own included, as well as for the ensurance of the integrity and sovereignty of all the states in the area, Israel's included.

At the same time, an end should be put, as soon as possible, to the war between Iraq and Iran, which caused both peoples heavy damage and casualties.

It is in the same spirit that we consider that other litigious issues, including those in Central America, Indochina and other parts of the world, should be solved.

In the final section of his speech President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the serious international economic situation, which adversely affects all the peoples, more particularly the developing countries, as a consequence of the economic crisis, of the inequitable financial-monetary policy, of the protectionist measures taken by the developed countries. A passage should be achieved, he said, to a global settlement of these issues, with a view to eradicating underdevelopment and establishing new-type economic links, set on full equality and equity among all the states of the world.

In this respect, we consider an international conference should be called at the United Nations to be attended by both developed and developing countries, so that mutually acceptable solutions be reached, to the rather high external debts of the developing countries included, and the prerequisite be sit for the equitable, balanced development of the world economy, the eradication of underdevelopment and the achievement of a new world economic order, providing for the progress and welfare of all nations.

### Correction on Romanian Agriculture Plenum

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Agriculture Council Plenary Meeting Opens" and subheadlined "Agenda for Meeting," published in the 19 February 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 44:

Sourceline should read: Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1936 GMT 17 Feb 88 (correcting time)

First paragraph, from first sentence make read: [Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/2/1988—The proceedings of an enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council of Agriculture, the food industry, silviculture and water management opened in Bucharest on Wednesday, February 17. [new paragraph]

The plenum analyses highly important questions related to the way in which the activity to fulfil 1987 tasks was carried through, as well as the measures needed to attain 1988 plan indicators so that this year may prove decisive for the implementation of the resolutions of the Thirteenth RCP Congress in the field of agriculture. [new paragraph]

The agenda includes... (supplying omitted passage, changing processing indicator to read "Text," and deleting subslug between sourceline and body of item)

### WW II Telegram Used To Fake Waldheim Telegram

*LD041331 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1236 GMT 4 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade, March 4 (TANJUG)—An original World-War-II telegram numbered 1100 has been used to falsify the telegram published in DER SPIEGEL magazine concerning Kurt Waldheim's wartime past. The fake telegram contains changed dateline, address and contents, while other parts are authentic, the Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI paper writes in its today's issue.

The original telegram concerns ammunition supply. It does not concern the role of Wehrmacht Colonel Kurt Waldheim in transporting hostages from Mt Kozara area to concentration camps.

The original telegram, until recently held in the archives of Belgrade's military-historical institute, reads as follows:

The urgently demanded ammunition may be supplied according to "Poglavnik" (head) Headquarters Order No. 1035-42, dated 7th of July 1942.

The fake has caused much confusion at the time an international commission of historians were investigating Waldheim's past. The original, from which the fake was made, had been ceded to a user at Belgrade's archives and has not been returned. The archives, which holds the microfilmed document, will soon make public the name of the user who had been ceded the document.

The VECERNJE NOVOSTI paper asks the question how it was possible that DER STERN [as received] and its expert staff could have categorically asserted that the "lower part" of telegram no. 1100 was original, when all they had was a copy of the document that later turned out to be a fake.

The paper says that just as surprising was the speed at which ever cautious Waldheim had resolvedly reacted to telegram no. 1100 before it was published in DER SPIEGEL. His press spokesman categorically claimed the telegram was "evidently a fake."

Before long the competent bodies in Yugoslavia, says the paper, will answer the question as to who had planted the "allegedly conclusive evidence" on Waldheim's past.

### Protest Lodged Over Arrest in Switzerland

*LD031744 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1704 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has lodged a protest with Switzerland because of the arrest of a Yugoslav citizen and because Swiss authorities have not yet allowed Yugoslav diplomatic representatives to contact the arrested person. Dragisa Stepanovic, former vice president of the Coordination Committee of the Clubs of Yugoslav Citizens in Switzerland, was arrested in Lugano on 11 February on the charge of "being involved in illegal political and subversive activity." TANJUG has learned that on 25 February the Swiss ambassador in Belgrade was summoned to the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs when a protest was presented to him. The protest assessed the charges as completely groundless.

Before that the Swiss Foreign Ministry forwarded these charges to the Yugoslav Embassy in Bern, which categorically rejected them as far-fetched and immediately asked to be put in touch with Dragisa Stepanovic. However, the Yugoslav diplomatic representatives have not yet been in a position to do so.

It is understood that the SFRY Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs deems it its duty to vigorously insist on Stepanovic's release.

This conduct by Swiss authorities arouses surprise and condemnation among Yugoslav citizens in Switzerland. Stepanovic lived in Switzerland for 10 years, worked in Swiss trade unions as a representative for foreign workers, and was the founder and president of the Clubs of Yugoslav Citizens in Ticino Canton.

On his return from Switzerland a year ago, he opened a craft shop in Titovo Uzice. He was arrested in Lugano where he had come to visit his wife, Vera, who still works in that city.

## Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Meets Press

### Situation in Afghanistan Viewed

*LD032336 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1741 GMT 3 Mar 88*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia, together with other nonaligned countries, advocates a political solution of the Afghanistan crisis, without foreign presence and interference from any side, for the sake of ensuring the independence, sovereignty and nonaligned status of Afghanistan, Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Aleksandar Stanic said here today.

Stanic told a regular news conference that Yugoslavia welcomes the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan and favourably views the Afghanistan-Pakistan negotiations in Geneva.

"We shall also welcome all other steps leading to the creation of conditions for complete ensurance of the Afghan people's right to themselves decide on their future," stated Stanic.

### Israeli Situation Worsens

*LD032341 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1738 GMT 3 Mar 88*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—The Israeli Government's persistent refusal to approach a political and comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian question by recognizing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to the establishment of a state of their own, worsens the situation in the occupied territories, official Yugoslav Government Spokesman Aleksandar Stanic said.

At a regular press conference here today, Stanic warned that a fresh escalation of the Israeli authorities' repressive measures against the Palestinian people had taken place, along with the use of the most brutal means. On this occasion, we again most strongly condemn this conduct of the Israeli Government and cruel actions by some members of the Israeli occupation and police forces, he said.

Stanic also noted that the situation in the occupied territories continues to aggravate and that the Palestinian people are rightfully resisting the Israeli occupation.

Yugoslavia supports every action which may contribute to the opening of a peace process in which the nine nonaligned countries' Committee for the Near East and Palestine would have its role, Stanic concluded.

### 'Dynamic' Ties With USSR Lauded

*LD032348 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1539 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Soviet economic cooperation over the past two decades has been marked by a dynamic pace and continuous extension to new fields, Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Aleksandar Stanic told his regular news conference here today.

Answering a question, Stanic said that by 1971, Yugoslavia had used Soviet investment credits to the amount of some 200 million clearing dollars, and that they were already repaid. A credit of 700 million clearing dollars, received in 1972, was mainly used and nearly a half of it repaid. In 1981, Yugoslavia received from the Soviet Union another inter-state credit totalling 450 million clearing dollars, which was later raised to 500 million.

All the credits were granted under favourable terms and mainly used for the reconstruction of existing and construction of new facilities in the power, iron and steel, and non-ferrous metal industries, said Stanic.

### U.S.-Soviet Arms Accord Noted

*LD032345 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1626 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia welcomes every measure towards the implementation of the U.S.-Soviet agreement on the elimination of Euro-missiles, and, consequently, assesses as important the step taken by Moscow in approaching the removal of missiles from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Aleksandar Stanic said here today.

At his regular weekly press conference, Stanic recalled that Yugoslavia had welcomed the signing of the U.S.-Soviet agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles from Europe and pointed out its exceptional importance to the beginning of the nuclear disarmament process and thus for favourable changes in the development of overall international relations.

### Discusses Albanian Accord

*LD031802 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1512 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav-Albanian inter-governmental agreement on scientific, education and cultural cooperation signed on February 19 has laid down the principles of bilateral cooperation in these fields, said Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Aleksander Stanic here today.

Yugoslavia and Albania have also exchanged draft programs of culture cooperation. The drafts are currently under consideration and negotiations on them are expected to start soon, Stanic told a regular news conference at the secretariat.

### Views Balkans Meeting

*LD031735 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1536 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—The meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Belgrade had an exceptionally constructive course and results, and the joint communique from it set out a comprehensive assessment for the development of multilateral cooperation in the region, spokesman of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Aleksander Stanic said.

Repeating the official Yugoslav assessment of last week's meeting, Ambassador Stanic said that Yugoslavia was pleased to note that the other participating countries had also highly assessed the Belgrade meeting's course and results and expressed their conviction that it was possible and essential to cooperate in a new spirit.

We highly appreciate the way in which the meeting was commented upon in the world. All this can serve as an encouragement and stimulus to us all—concluded Ambassador Stanic.

### Loncar Algerian Visit Announced

*LD031530 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1451 GMT 3 Mar 88*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar will visit Algeria soon at the invitation of Algerian Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, it was announced here today at a regular press conference in the Foreign Secretariat.

The visit will take place in the framework of close cooperation and continued dialogue between the two countries at a high political level.

The two ministers will discuss questions relating to bilateral cooperation, international relations—particularly the activities of the nonaligned countries—focuses of crisis and the situation in the Mediterranean region, the secretariat's press spokesman Aleksander Stanic said.

### Loncar Briefs FEC on Balkans Meeting

*LD032335 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Excerpts] The FEC held a session today. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, began by briefing members on the results of the Balkan foreign ministers meeting held in Belgrade, and then the FEC examined and adopted several federal documents and laws. Here is a more detailed report:

The federal secretary stressed in particular the very constructive atmosphere in which the meeting was held. This was contributed to by all Balkan countries, guided as they were by the political desire to make positive moves in multilateral cooperation in the Balkans. The FEC approved this report and assessed that the Balkan foreign ministers meeting was a significant contribution to the consolidation of trust and understanding and to an improvement of good-neighborly relations and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

The FEC also discussed the state of economic development of the ASEAN group of countries and the proposed measures to improve Yugoslavia's cooperation with those countries.

The FEC also approved the draft amendments to the law on assisting and winding up associated labor organizations. The object of the proposal is that the associated labor organizations that are experiencing business problems should not be in a position that is worse than that of organizations operating at a loss. [passage omitted]

The FEC did not endorse the initiative stemming from a joint session of the Courts of Associated Labor of the Republics and Provinces for a Yugoslav Associated Labor Court to be set up.

Several decisions in the areas of cadre policy were also adopted. Dzevad Mujezinovic has been appointed assistant federal secretary of foreign affairs, while Vladimir Pintar and Nenad Urosevic were appointed assistant secretaries of finance.

### Further on Official Visit of Peru's Wagner

#### Received by Mikulic

*LD031812 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic today received Peruvian Foreign Minister Allan Wagner Tizon at the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade.

In a lengthy and cordial talk, in which Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, also took part, views were exchanged on bilateral cooperation and a number of topical international issues.

Mikulic and Wagner agreed that political relations between Yugoslavia and Peru are developing well and that they have identical standpoints on many international issues. They also noted that there are possibilities for strengthening economic cooperation between the two countries. They called for expanded and more balanced trade between the two countries, for increased reliance on barter trade, and for the introduction of higher forms of economic cooperation.

The president of the FEC voiced our work organizations' interest in taking part in new projects in Peru.

Considerable attention was also focused on international economic situation, and in particular on the debt crisis. The FEC president and the Peruvian foreign minister stressed that the way in which the crisis has been tackled so far has failed to produce results, and that it is in the interests of both debtors and creditors that proper solutions are found urgently to enable debtor countries to develop economically, thus enhancing their capacity to repay debts. The initiative set in motion by Peruvian President Alan Garcia is an important step toward finding such solutions. It was also said that the nonaligned countries should pay more attention to the efforts to resolve other international economic problems and should launch an action as soon as possible to pave the way for constructive North-South dialogue and for more meaningful cooperation among the developing countries. Bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the nonaligned and developing countries in science and technology, which will enable them, through concerted efforts, to catch up with the developed world is of particular importance. This would also be the best way of countering the new form of colonialism, i.e. technological colonialism, which can pose a serious threat to the developing countries' economic and technological independence, it was stated during the talks.

## Talks With Loncar

*LD040833 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0006 GMT 4 Mar 88*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Peruvian relations, including economic cooperation, are constantly on the rise thus confirming the importance of the bilateral links among developing countries in the present international situation, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and Peru's Foreign Minister Allan Wagner Tizon concluded in their closing talks in Belgrade this evening.

They pointed out that the two countries economic relations are based on trade and higher forms of cooperation to the satisfaction of both sides.

Both sides' satisfaction was set out since Yugoslavia and Peru have agreed on the mechanisms of payment for investment work through so-called counter-deliveries of those Peruvian goods that the Yugoslav economy needs—iron ore, zink, lead, copper, coffee, fish meal, cotton and others.

Belgrade and Lima have almost identical views on the activities of the non-aligned and problems that the movement faces. The two countries set out their readiness to engage themselves and coordinate their work with other non-aligned countries in the preparations for the non-aligned ministerial conference in Cyprus.

Allan Wagner Tizon informed Budimir Loncar in detail about the development of the situation in Latin America and prospects for resolving the crisis in Central America.

The Guatemala Peace agreement was fully supported. It was noted that the agreement gives hope that the crisis is entering its final stage. This stage is the one in which foundations for a stable peace and cooperation in the region can be sought through negotiations and without foreign interference.

Yugoslavia offers support to such efforts along the lines of strengthening democracy, emancipation, and the united and independent acting of Central America, Budimir Loncar underscored.

## Armed Forces Budget Cut Strengthens Security

*LD032350 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2115 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency's decision to cut the Armed Forces' peacetime personel by 12 per cent, the wartime personnel by ten per cent and the territorial defence personnel by 13.7 per cent is a contribution to the process of tension easing and of strengthening the atmosphere of mutual confidence and security in the world, and especially in Europe.

The decision is also in keeping with the spirit of the recent meeting of the six Balkan countries' foreign ministers, the TANJUG News Agency said in a commentary today.

However, the agency points out that the reduction of tension in international relations has still not reached a point where concern for one's own security could end.

On the contrary, all analyses show that the danger to the security of medium-sized and smaller countries, including that of Yugoslavia, is not less than before. Thus, neither is the necessity of a permanent strengthening of the Yugoslav Armed Forces and the promotion of the society's comprehensive defence preparations any less.

The Yugoslav News Agency writes that yesterday's decision by the collective head of state is a result of thorough estimates and several-year-long analyses, and fits well into the country's permanent orientation to gradully cut down the Armed Forces' personnel with the aim of the technical modernisation and qualitative strenthening of the Yugoslav Armed Forces.

The orientation is to [word indistinct] realistically acceptatle limits dictated by the concept of total national defence and the state of international relations.

It is recalled that Yugoslavia reduced the duration of national service in the armed forces for all conscripts from 15 to 12 months three years ago. Also mentioned is the the report in the national assembly by Yugoslav Defence Secretary Admiral Branko Mamula in December last year, when he proposed just the sort of reduction in the Armed Forces that the Presidency has now adopted.

The commentary also points out the economic aspect of the adopted measures.

Starting from the fact that the medium-term targets cannot be accomplished even in 1988, as well as from the country's determination to cut down the economy's expenses, the volume of funds for financing the Yugoslav People's Army has been cut by five per cent for this year too. In consequence, the Army was allocated about 202 billion dinars less from the federal budget (1,350 dinars equals one U.S. dollar) than the amount foreseen by the medium-term development plan.

In connection with this, necessary corrections and selections of priorities have been made.

The supply of weapons and military equipment has been raised by six per cent compared with the orginal plan, while the construction of infrastructure facilities will go down by 38 per cent.

Through the aforementioned reduction and other alterations in plans, the Yugoslav Armed Forces are also giving a concrete contribution to the country's economic stabilization, concludes TANJUG.

## LCY Commission Views Krunic Visit to Africa

*LD032342 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] At its session today, the LCY Central Committee Commission for International Cooperation, chaired by Dobrivoje Vidic, discussed the reports and information about the visits and meetings that took place recently in the context of relations and cooperation between the LCY and progressive European parties and movements.

Bosko Krunic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said in his introductory report that the LCY delegation that he led to his meetings with the African National Union-Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the United Party of National Independence of Zambia, and the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania had meaningful and fruitful talks with the most prominent personalities in the political life of those friendly countries. Those visits provided an incentive for enriching the relations with those parties and national and social emancipation movements, and several agreements on reciprocal cooperation during the period ahead were concluded.

It was stressed in the debate that it is important to conduct comprehensive cooperation between our country and the countries of Africa. It was agreed that the commission should soon examine in detail the social developments in that continent.

## Kosovo Polje LC Discusses Grievances

*AU022055 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Feb 88 p 1-3*

[V. Surroi, T. Neziri, B. Reka, R. Tahiri report: "Instead of Defeatist Criticism—Criticism That Leads to Progress"]

[Text] The gathering of Kosovo Polje Communists, requested by certain LC organizations of the district, began its proceedings yesterday, and at the time of going to press was still continuing. In contrast to earlier meetings, apart from the ruling that only LC members should take part in the meeting, there were no crowds assembled outside the Kosovo Polje House of Culture. About 200 people who gathered outside the building were dispersed, and of them some 50 people remained. The topic discussed by the gathering was the realization of the tasks set by the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum.

Many activists took part in the meeting, including Vojislav Zajic, secretary to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; Kacusha Jashari and Ljubomir Popovic, members of this Presidium; Borisav Jovic and Zika Radojlovic, members of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidency; Milomir Mijovic, executive secretary of this Presidium; Petar Kostic, member of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Presidency; Ragip Halili, president of the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium; Momcilo Trajkovic and Gani Jashari, executive secretaries to this Presidium; Tomislav Sekulic, member of the Kosovo Executive Council; and Bozidar Lazic, president of the Pristina Communal Assembly.

Zivojin Martinovic, chairman of the meeting, delivered an opening speech. After pointing out that the situation in the district is serious, he commented that the purpose of the meeting and of the activity of Communists is to bring people closer to each other without regard to nationality. The situation has been further complicated, he remarked, by the differences that have arisen between the communal authorities and the inhabitants of Kosovo Polje in connection with the Communal Committee assessments of the so-called leaders. As he pointed out, political activity has involved itself more with consequences than with causes, and the situation will deteriorate further if the same path continues to be followed. He further added that it is impossible to view the situation in Kosovo Polje in isolation from the situation in Kosovo as a whole, because the only distinguishing feature of Kosovo Polje is that there is a greater concentration of Serbs and Montenegrins who have expressed their discontent through gatherings. In connection with the atmosphere created following these gatherings, and certain malevolent and hostile judgments regarding the present meeting of Communists, he said that there must be no theorizing about a "Kosovo Polje syndrome" as a destabilizing factor in Yugoslavia.

According to Martinovic, a process has been continuing in Kosovo Polje for some time, involving the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins (more than 400 families with 2,000 members) and the simultaneous arrival of Albanians (from Bujanovac, Macedonia, etc.), which has altered the national composition of the area. In illustration, he cited the fact that 25 years ago there was no Albanian-language track in local schools, whereas now the situation is entirely different. We need action and changes to stem the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, to reunite separated families, to bring peace to the district, and also to bring back those who have emigrated, within the framework of the Yugoslav program. These are Kosovo Polje's principal demands, which will guarantee conditions for a life without fear and anxiety for the future, and will ensure a level of freedom matching civilized European standards.

### Denying the Single-Nationality Character of Gatherings [subhead]

Kosovo Polje has become famous for its gatherings, which have been a result of the activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism. The gatherings were an expression of the freedom-loving ambitions of the people, and were occasions for the fullest expression of Yugoslav patriotism. We have never been against the

Albanians, he said. On the contrary, we have been in favor of brotherhood and unity, but also of a vigorous struggle against the enemy. If there were unacceptable remarks and statements, these came from individuals, and Communists and working people disassociated themselves from them at once.

The gatherings were spontaneous, but after the creation of the Regional Conference they were led by Communists, Martinovic said, and pointed out that they were not nationalist, but on the contrary exerted a positive influence in preventing Serbian and Montenegrin emigration. The gatherings were not of a single nationality, and were not manipulated by nationalists, something which is impossible in revolutionary Kosovo Polje. Kosovo Polje, he stressed, is a firm bastion of Yugoslavia in Kosovo and an obstacle to those who are against our system.

In talking about the period following the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum, he said that this time had not been used properly, and that instead of specific steps against the causes and consequences of counterrevolution, we have been more preoccupied with a few reports which are the product of forum-like activity. An escalation of the activity of Albanian nationalists and chauvinists followed the ninth plenum, making necessary the arrival of the special unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Nevertheless, he said, there have also been positive factors, such as the understanding reached for constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, the planned construction of 2,500 apartments for returning emigrants and experts, and the planned creation of the commune of Kosovo Polje. Apart from these specific results on paper, there have also been solid results in health and in school construction, but he said that these are secondary, and have arisen because of the difficulty of the situation and the continuing changes in national composition.

Discussing cadre policy, Martinovic stressed that people must be chosen who have the people's trust, and not, as hitherto, those Serbian careerists who act as apologists and sell short LCY policy in order to have their families transferred to Belgrade. He also pointed out the tendency to remove cadres compromised in the counterrevolutions of 1968 and 1981 from the public eye, only so that they may return tomorrow. He also particularly sought to stress the negative practice of favoring the majority, which has meant that cadres are now necessary who will represent the interests of the Serbs and Montenegrins.

At the end of his speech, Zivojin Martinovic stressed that Kosovo Polje will always fight against all traitors to our country.

Program for Kosovo Polje [subhead]

The draft program for solving the problems of Kosovo Polje was presented at yesterday's meeting, and was read by Pavle Jovanovic, member of the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium.

The main points of the program include: an assessment of the results of political activity up till now; an assessment of the changes which have taken place since the gathering of 24 April last year, attended by S. Milosevic; an assessment of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the presence of Albanian nationalism, and of intranational relations; demands for the responsibility of persons who have not carried out their duties; assessments and proposals in the field of the equality of languages and alphabets, stressing the use of the Cyrillic alphabet; assessments of progress in enforcing cadre policy; assessments of progress in ideopolitical differentiation; assessments of economic and employment problems; and the assessment of progress in responding to the petitions from Kosovo Polje citizens.

It is also foreseen that a program will be devised for the return of Serbian and Montenegrin emigrants, that the empty multi-storey apartment block in Bresje will be made available for this purpose, and that those houses which cannot be reallocated by judicial means will be repurchased; the problem of air pollution from Obilic will be solved; a textile plant and another factory will be built; the situation in the Railroad Organization will be assessed and improved; experts will be encouraged to come, and close economic cooperation between the future commune of Kosovo Polje and other communes outside the province will be ensured.

The program also plans for the reconstruction of the Kosovo Polje soccer field, the improvement of the economic situation of the soccer team, and the construction of a new sports hall.

Among investments in the infrastructure, the program also plans for the installation of new telephone lines, the completion of the health clinic in Bresje, and the conversion of the old Kosovo Polje school for the needs of amateur cultural groups. In this sector the program also foresees the construction of 250 new apartments for those who return and the allocation of 200 building lots from the social land sector, with loans on favorable terms for house construction.

A separate and special clause concerns establishing the responsibility of listed individuals who, according to the program, are responsible for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this area. These are: Zenun Beqaj and Xheladin Sahiti, former managers of the Railroad Organization, Feti Grapci, Hamdi Musa, Slobodan Spasic, and Kajtaz Fazlia. The program also states that those who organized and took part in the funeral of the irredentist Metush Krasniqi must be called to account.

A special clause also concerns cadre selection, part of which states that this must not be carried out to favor the majority.

Yesterday's meeting formed a working group to put the final touches to this program. This group included Milomir Mijovic, Ljubo Popovic, Gani Jashari, Sreten Martinovic, and Ljubo Vujovic.

Delegates From Kosovo Polje—At the LCY Conference? [subhead]

Stevan Marinkovic from Kuzmin, the first speaker, began by stressing that we have created a free Serbian and Yugoslav tribunal where people can speak freely, and then pointed out that the proposed program for Kosovo Polje is too ambitious. He went on to offer two suggestions for the program. The first was that a delegate from Kosovo Polje should be sent to the LCY Conference, and that he should if possible be one of the three so-called leaders rather than somebody from the Communal Committee, so that the LCY could be informed directly about the situation here. Second, he suggested that the constitutional debate should also include discussion of the judicial system, language equality, the flag, favoring the majority, national leverage, and restoring the name of Metohija alongside that of Kosovo. At the end of his speech, he dwelt on the issue of the so-called leaders, about whom he said that if their responsibility is proved, then this responsibility should be borne by everybody, and if it is not proved, then this responsibility should be borne by individuals in the communal leadership. He proposed that an official request be sent to the Communal Committee demanding that responsibility be fixed either upon the Presidium or the three leaders, because the truth must lie in one place or the other. His speech was greeted with applause.

Spiro Samardzic, the next speaker, and bearer of the 1941 Remembrance Medal, discussed the question of the leaders, and declared that what these three LC members are doing now is what Communists did in 1941, in other words waging war against the enemy. He was amazed at the fact that the Communal Committee had set itself against these people. He said in conclusion that some people did not like Bosko Budimirovic merely because he did not submit to the irredentists' directives.

Zivko Vujacic compared the present situation with that in Drenica 23 years ago, when 22 Serbian and Montenegrin families emigrated, the majority of whom settled in Kosovo Polje. This speaker considered the problems to lie in a lack of analysis of the past, because, as he put it, the largest emigration took place at the very time when Veli Deva headed the Drenica leadership, and Deva, instead of being held responsible, advanced in his career. The leadership of Serbia is also responsible for the situation, because they should have noticed earlier how Serbs and Montenegrins who emigrated from Kosovo were daily building houses in Serbia. This speaker said that the Albanians themselves considered that what happened then would be a black mark against the Albanian people, while nothing had happened to the politicians. He also mentioned his complaint, which had been considered as justified by the LCY Commission for Petitions and Complaints, although nobody was brought to account over it. He also said that that the technical bureaucracy which has taken root is more dangerous than nationalism. Discussing the question of the three leaders, he said among other things that we are faced with an illogical situation, since if the gatherings have never been considered nationalist, how can their leaders be expelled as nationalists?

Distinguishing Constructive Criticism From Defeatism [subhead]

Boro Djeljetovic said that nothing has been done since the ninth plenum, apart from changing the appearance of the Albanian flag, and that even this has not been done properly, because the Yugoslav tricolor and the state symbol are still missing. Talking about public opinion in Yugoslavia, he emphasized that all those people who call us nationalists should come here and live for a year with the Albanians to see what it is like. In dwelling on the issue of the so-called leaders, he declared that all those who attack these leaders are guilty of causing the present situation. It must be said, he declared, that these leaders, alongside Mitar Baljevic and Zika and Sreten Martinovic, are true communists, and have made all those in Yugoslavia who are expert in the art of silence open their mouths, in contrast to Nedeljko Pupovac and others. Discussing the slogans "Kosovo Is Serbia," and "We Want Freedom," he said that these are not nationalist, and that the nationalist slogans are "Kosovo Is Albania" and "Serbs to Serbia."

Ljubo Vujovic began by stressing that intensive activity has been carried out in the last 6 months, especially in the SAWP, yet there is nevertheless a visible general tendency to distract attention away from the struggle against Albanian nationalism, and to concentrate it on secondary matters. Making a comparison between the Pristina LC Communal Committee's communique in 1981, which considered the demonstrations as an uproar over food, and the recent communique about the "leaders," he noted that in contrast to the earlier communique which minimized what had happened, the recent one was an exaggeration and went against Kosovo Polje and the local Serbs and Montenegrins. However, nobody in the leadership batted an eyelid at this. He said that this was part of the campaign to portray Kosovo Polje as a bastion of Serbian nationalism. At the same time he expressed regret at the national polarization of the Communal Committee.

Acting On What Has Been Decided [subhead]

Borisav Jovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, said that decisive steps have been taken since the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum and the sixth Serbian LC Central Committee plenum,

and that we have similarly progressed since the tenth Kosovo LC Provincial Committee plenum. Meanwhile, the eighth Serbian LC Central Committee plenum shows that we will enforce what we have decided and there is no force that can stop us. It is a good thing, he said, to study the situation with a critical eye, because the situation is still unsatisfactory, but a critical attitude must be used to gain experience for action, and should not lapse into defeatism. Therefore, constructive criticism must be distinguished from its opposite. This is necessary, because Albanian nationalism and separatism are still present, alongside the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and intranational intolerance.

Nevertheless, our results must not be forgotten, since responsibility and consistency in enacting decisions have been strengthened since the ninth plenum. We said then that there are things that could be done at once, such as protecting personal security, and here we have experienced success. Yet attempts are also being made in this field to politicize the arrival of the unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. This is unreasonable, because its arrival was made necessary by the continued presence of counterrevolutionary forces. Similarly, it is a positive fact that differentiation has been begun among the provincial leadership, and that this has been accepted as a method of work. In the context of positive results, we must stress the greater effectiveness of the courts and the help of cadres from the SR of Serbia. Yet, in spite of progress, shortcomings still exist, especially in cooperation with bodies of the SR of Serbia.

The agreement reached on constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia is also positive. This, among other things, will ensure the legal protection of citizens throughout the territory of the republic. Moreover, there have been major steps forward in education, with the withdrawal of textbooks tending to indoctrination, and the elimination of many misunderstandings over common syllabi. Second-language teaching has also been introduced in the first grade of primary school, Jovic said.

The problems in Kosovo, he continued, can only be solved through a policy of brotherhood and unity, and if we are all responsible enough not to fall under the influence either of Albanian or Serbian nationalism. At present, however, we must also think about the economic development of Kosovo, which is a long-term task. In this field, we have achieved solid results through the pooling of labor and resources, because organizations in the SR of Serbia are planning 80 projects which will be offered to associated labor in Kosovo. Steps will be taken in this direction in Kosovo Polje itself, with a textile works with the most modern technology and with another project to employ men. However, it must be added that Kosovo Polje too must be responsible for its own development.

Discussing the issue of cadre policy, Jovic declared that people [illegible] are in favor of LCY policy and enjoy the confidence of the citizens of Kosovo Polje must fill all leading positions. The Serbian LC Central Committee, and, I believe, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, will support this principle. But activity must be carried out at the base.

To make activity more fruitful, fundamental work, without quarrels, must be carried out in shaping public opinion. He said that this is not possible if there are suspicions, campaigns, and even instances of revanchism, and went on to say that neither should differentiation be encumbered by efforts to ensure an equal balance on the scales of nationality.

We will win with the help of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Borisav Jovic said in conclusion. We will win freedom and equality for all the nationalities in Kosovo.

Positive Assessment of the Tribunal [subhead]

In the view of Zdravko Budimirovic, the Communists of Kosovo Polje have been in confrontation with the Pristina Communal Committee and the Provincial Committee merely because of the failure to act upon the conclusions, and that they are not at all bothered by the fact that, although there were no Albanians here 20 years ago, they now make up 40 percent of the population. He also assessed positively the Kosovo Polje tribunal, illustrating this by the fact that 115 teachers from Pristina University had expressed the desire to come, since this is a free tribunal discussing many topics. He also pointed out that when S. Milosevic came to Kosovo Polje, 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins gathered here, and that the Albanians had not taken part, because ideopolitical differentiation had been carried out back to front, starting from the bottom instead of the top.

After asking why broad ideopolitical activity (on the part of activists in the Albanian-language media) had not been undertaken to explain the counterrevolutionary activity of Fadilj Hodza, he stressed that Hodza had become an idol in the eyes of young people, just as a pupil in a school in southern Serbia had made an idol of Aziz Kelmendi. Tying his speech to that of Kolj Siroka at the eleventh LCY Central Committee plenum, he declared that responsibility also lays with Siroka, because he had defended Fadilj Hodza at this plenum. All those who defend Fadilj Hodza and attack the eighth Serbian LC Central Committee plenum are defenders of the counterrevolution, he said.

At the end of his speech, he put forward four suggestions for the Kosovo Polje program: Differentiation should be carried out among those cadres responsible for the 1969-1981 period, and among the present Provincial Committee cadres who were not active in exposing Albanian nationalism; the Communal Committee should withdraw its own assessments concerning the three "leaders," and the Albanian-language media should provide an analysis of the present stands and activity of the LCY.

Intolerable Insults and Abuse of Cadres [subhead]

According to Dusan Bojkovic, it cannot be said that there have been no positive results in improving the political and security situation in Kosovo. Yet we are still far from achieving what we really want. This is why Kosovo Polje is losing patience, and why we are talking freely and without hesitation here about all the shortcomings. He went on to say that all the inhabitants here are irritated by the celebration planned by the Kosovo History Institute of various dates and anniversaries connected with personalities involved in the League of Prizren and the outlaw movement, such as Azem Bejta, Isa Boletini, Sylejman Vokshi, Bajram Curri, and others. Nor did this speaker fail to comment and dispute the Pristina LC Communal Committee assessments concerning the ideopolitical responsibility of the three Kosovo Polje "leaders," as well as the assessments of the two highest Kosovo presidiums concerning the nature of the slogans heard at the women's gatherings and the character of these gatherings. He did not even forget to criticize the "calculated tendentiousness" of certain press articles in Slovenia and Croatia concerning the events in and around Kosovo Polje.

Meanwhile, Hysen Fazliu started his speech by drawing attention to the fact that there can be no free discussion if whistling, applause, and cries of "Who is whistling at you?" are directed at speakers. He went on to discuss the present stages of the enactment of the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum on Kosovo. On the subject of emigration, he said that it is indeed encouraged by pressure, but that it is influenced more by poor material conditions and poor prospects in life, because there is no need for any people or nationality to feel frightened or unsafe within the borders of Yugoslavia. In conclusion, he drew attention to the unacceptability of calls to lay responsibility for the problems of Kosovo at the doors of leading cadres, including even those at the federal level.

Probably the longest speech at yesterday's gathering of Kosovo Polje Communists, which rather resembled the kind of recital of past history which could not be reasonably included on the agenda, was that of Djuro Bauk, which began by listing one by one the Serbs and Montenegrins killed in Kosovo, continued by listing the rapes committed against Serbs and Montenegrins, and concluded with "the impossibility of understanding the verdict on the Djordje Martinovic case." For this speaker, the principal culprits for the "growth of Albanian nationalism" were the members of the former leadership, headed by Fadilj Hodza and his collaborators, yet he was not satisfied with the present Kosovo leaders either. In the most unscrupulous, random, and baseless fashion, he abused various provincial leaders, bodies, and institutions, concluding this torrent of insults with the question: "What kind of party is this in Kosovo, with 105,000 members and Azem Vlasi at its head?" He expanded the circle of cadres whom he held responsible for the situation we have now to include Kolj Siroka, Nebih Gashi, Ragip Halili, Sadri Godanci . . .

Spasoje Lakicevic began his speech by saying that he did not discriminate on the basis of nationality, because when his family was orphaned and emigrated from Srbica to Kosovo Polje, it was none other than an Albanian who was the first to take them into his house and look after them for two weeks. He went on to introduce the topic of the bilingual policy of some organizations of associated labor in Pristina some years ago, calling this a premeditated irregularity and an instrument to influence cadre policy, and especially to remove Serbian and Montenegrin cadres. He then posed the question of how Culafic and Azem Vlasi could on the same day give differing assessments concerning the arrival of the federal militia detachment in Kosovo and the reasons for its despatch. He later disputed the explanation given by Azem Vlasi. Like other speakers, he disputed the Pristina LC Communal Committee assessments concerning the ideopolitical responsibility of the Kosovo Polje "leaders."

Vojislav Zajic, secretary to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, also spoke to Communists at yesterday's gathering at Kosovo Polje. Concerning the present political and security situation in Kosovo, he said that it is still complicated, mainly as a result of the continued activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism and the continuing process of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Citizens' dissatisfaction at the slow rate of change in the situation, and their refusal to accept it, are therefore understandable. He went on to discuss the enactment of the plenum conclusions on Kosovo, and said that significant results are now being achieved in all fields, such as in education, in increasing accountability, in the effectiveness of judicial and administrative bodies, in the enforcement of constitutionality and legality, and in solving citizens' problems and grievances, although the situation in this field is still not as we would wish. Talking about the struggle of the LC to improve the general political situation in Kosovo, he said that within the LC itself we need as never before unity in ideology and action, a struggle against opportunism, inertia, formalism, and other shortcomings. Although, judged realistically, the principal struggle is against Albanian nationalism and separatism, we need now more than ever the help and activity of Albanian Communists, since the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum on Kosovo oblige every Communist to combat nationalism within his own nationality.

In conclusion, he repeated once again the assessments of the two Kosovo Presidiums concerning the gatherings and the slogans heard at the recent gatherings of Serbian and Montenegrin women, saying that these assessments did in fact distinguish between citizens' real grievances

and manipulations of these grievances, stressing that the gatherings organized on the basis of national identity did nevertheless have unfavorable consequences in cooling intranational relations.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The Main Cause—The Context of Serbian Nationalism—From the Speech of Tomislav Sekulic, member of the Kosovo Assembly Executive Council [subhead]

The main cause of the distrust between the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo Polje and the legal and political authorities lies in the extent ascribed to Serbian nationalism. It is said that Serbian nationalism is on the offensive, that it has strong support outside Kosovo, that it is calling on people to take to the streets, that it is making unacceptable demands, and that it has entered into every pore of our life.

A view has emerged from this context that seeks to give such a coloring to the protests of Serbs and Montenegrins. Those aspects of the protests of Serbs and Montenegrins which were unacceptable and were prompted by individuals, such as instances of hatred and revanchism, have somehow been given the limelight out of a desire to portray them as characteristic of the protests as a whole. There has been no desire to identify the causes of the protests. It was the fact that 5 years have passed since the counterrevolution, the onset of despair, the emigration of 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins, and the favoring of the majority which generated all these protests.

These were the reasons which gave rise to fear for the future. Perhaps some people who do not live in Kosovo or have not lived here since 1981— in Ljubljana, Pula, or Novi Sad, for instance—can accept these assessments. Perhaps a number of opportunist Serbian and Montenegrin cadres who love their armchairs can accept these assessments. Perhaps some people find them necessary so that they can throw dust in the eyes of Yugoslav public opinion or settle accounts with the Serbian leadership, but these assessments have not identified the solutions which can revive confidence and create conditions to achieve what Yugoslavia wants.

An attitude of this kind toward Serb nationalism and all the forces of protest has also influenced the attitude of the leading communal bodies toward responsibility. By tarring all gatherings with the same nationalist brush, the communal and provincial leadership have shrugged off their own responsibility. In this way they have issued unacceptable assessments concerning these gatherings and their nature, as well as against those who led these meetings, thus restricting their activity.

This gathering must demand today that the provincial authorities should view the real extent of Serbian nationalism, state precisely where it poses a danger, and declare a clear standpoint concerning the protest gatherings. The work done among the ranks of the leadership must be assessed and, third, the conclusions of the ninth plenum must be acted upon more energetically. There must be changes of cadres, and at the same time those persons who were not in accord with LCY policy at the time of the protest gatherings must be assessed. We must consider the unacceptable statements of individuals and free ourselves from the disgrace with which they covered the Serbs and Montenegrins at these gatherings. (applause) [End of boxed passage]

Ways To Solve Problems Sought [subhead]

I do not agree, Milica Bojanic said in her speech, with the view of sociopolitical workers that the situation in Kosovo is complicated, because I say it is much more serious than it is depicted. Talking about emigration, she stressed that we must talk about persecutors and their victims, when we realize that 700 villages in Kosovo have become ethnically pure. In this context she mentioned several villages where Serbs and Montenegrins used to live. She mentioned that emigration from Vrela near Lipljan, where the Emin Duraku partisan unit was formed, is still being intentionally encouraged. Even though the unit was formed in this village, the Kosovo History Institute, headed by Tahir Abdyli, intentionally asserts that the unit was formed in Goles, which belongs to Drenica. It is well-known that a counterrevolution was mounted in Drenica at the end of the National Liberation War.

She then emphasized that the villagers here had demanded the return of the land taken from them earlier, but that Tefik Lugic, president of Lipljan Commune, and the responsible communal officials had not allowed this, even though the Commission for Petitions and Complaints had upheld the citizens' claim. She then turned to Borisav Jovic for help, because she said that she had no confidence in the cadres of Pristina Commune and the province. She then proposed not only that no Kosovo cadre who held office before 1981, but also those now in office, should be allowed to participate in the process of preventing emigration, since they influenced the emigration of 30,000 people while they were in leading positions. Those who exerted pressure for emigration cannot issue calls for people to return. Talking about the high birthrate among Albanians, she said that religion encourages this by allowing them to have more than one wife and forbidding abortion. She said that doctors did not allow abortion, telling mothers to give birth, because the state will maintain their children. She also cited the benefits that those with many children enjoy.

She contradicted herself in asking why there are twice as many Albanian pupils as Serbs in primary school classes, while classes of Serbian pupils in high schools have between 40 and 45 pupils.

Shaip Ternava stressed that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is a serious problem, to whose solution all progressive forces with the LC at their head are actively committed. More specific measures and steps have been taken to solve this problem. The conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum and many other documents have laid this obligation upon us. A more favorable climate to act upon these conclusions has now been created. They are an aspect of the life and work of every Communist, for we cannot progress if they are not realized.

We have created a more suitable climate in our midst with the results we have achieved, but we cannot be complacent. Talking about the return of emigrants, he pointed out that Kosovo Elektroekonomia has employed 120 returned emigrants, and supports the Yugoslav program for the return of all those who wish to live and work here. He stressed that a further factory must be built in Kosovo Polje to ease the unemployment problem. Commenting on the program for LC activity in Kosovo Polje, he stressed that the still-continuing activity being carried out in ideopolitical differentiation must also be included. He mentioned that three Albanian teachers at the Aca Marovic Primary School, who were not suitable for work in education, had been dismissed in the course of ideopolitical differentiation, and that the deputy head teacher had been replaced. He then said that the document nowhere mentions the boycott of classes by Serbian and Montenegrin children following the women's gatherings, nor the absence of Albanian lessons for these classes. It is well-known that we should all learn each other's language in order to grow closer to one another. Ignorance of each other's language harms our children most of all. It should also have been mentioned that a broad program of career choice has been opened up for pupils of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who have studied at vocational training schools, and that the opportunity has been created of starting 10 further classes if necessary, apart from those already planned.

His view that the rate of emigration has been falling year by year was greeted with displeasure on the part of a number of those present. He went on to say that the reasons why some people have erected "house for sale" signs must be discussed with the householders themselves. At some Kosovo Polje meetings some participants had disparaged and insulted activists, and this was why local Albanian activists had not taken part in these meetings. When the Serbs and Montenegrins sold their land in Drenica, a large number of them came to live and work in Kosovo Polje at a time when several factories were being built. They had therefore moved closer to the center, where there were better living and working conditions. The arrival of Albanians from some areas of Serbia and Macedonia must also be viewed in this context. Meanwhile, each instance of emigration from Kosovo Polje worries every honest Albanian. In conclusion, he stressed that we must further strengthen brotherhood and unity and togetherness and must carry out all our activity jointly, thus solving our problems and progressing faster. We must create relations that will bring us closer together, and not those that will divide us.

The gathering continued its proceedings.

## Pristina Seminar Discusses Kosovo Birthrate

*AU031748 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 88 p 4*

[R.B. report: "Different Reasons for Population Growth"]

[Text] Pristina, 1 Mar—Pristina demographers voiced their disagreement with the report of the academician Koste Mihajlovic, who at the joint session of the Commissions for Socioeconomic Relations of the Serbian LC Central Committee and of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee said among other things that an ideology favoring natality was predominant in Kosovo as a result of religion, a large part of the intelligentsia, the silence of forums over many years, and of nationalism. According to the thinking of Pristina theoreticians, such ideas of demographers and economists are unscientific, and based on the interests of the politics of the day and on definite prejudices from the past.

Musa Limani, Gjergj Rapi, Zeki Bejtullahu, and Rifat Blaku asserted that it was not correct to say that religion exerted an influence on the province's population growth. In their view, the birthrate cannot be reduced without the speedy general development of Kosovo.

Fehmije Mushkolaj, president of the Kosovo SAWP Family Planning Council, said that the high birthrate in the province is conditioned by a series of factors, and above all by socioeconomic and educational development.

Bahtije Abrashi, president of the Kosovo SAWP Conference for the Social Activity of Women, stressed that a long time has been spent overcoming what was inherited after the liberation in Kosovo. She recalled that illiteracy in Kosovo was 95 percent in the post-war years, and that women wore the yashmak... Nevertheless the situation is very different now; appealing to the need to raise awareness and reaching specific conclusions on population policy. [sentence as published]

Population policy in Kosovo is no longer a taboo subject. The high birthrate is under discussion in almost all forums, the communes are about to produce specific proposals, and the Kosovo Assembly is expected to introduce a resolution on population policy.

Miloje Nikolic said that it is necessary to look for an opportunity to overcome economic backwardness through population policy. Dr Asllan Pushka stressed that there can be no proper prognosis without a good diagnosis of the situation. New Yugoslavia should "thank" old Yugoslavia for demographic tendencies in

Kosovo. But Pushka said that such a kind of demography was not the fault merely of Kosovo cadres, nor of people who give birth to many children. He declared that a fast reduction in the birthrate cannot be expected as long as the traditional family model persists in Kosovo.

Women in Kosovo with high-level specialist training include 0.9 percent of Albanians, 3.9 percent of Serbs, and 5.9 percent of Montenegrins. This expert complained that politicians pay more attention when in some places in day-to-day politics "the Albanians are blamed" for everything. Asllan Pushka said that if we wish to radically change the situation, as we do, then we must think of the Albanians as a part of this community, and not as strangers.

Uros Seslija, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and chairman of the Commission for Socioeconomic Relations within this presidium, commented that science must be kept apart from politics. We must cuddle those who have been born, he said (thinking of population growth), but children who are yet to be born must be able to live more happily.

Population policy in Kosovo has made a start, but nothing specific has been achieved yet, Milovan Radovanovic observed. Almost all 20 participants in the 2-day discussion were in favor of broaching a whole range of problems relating to population policy as a long-term process in Kosovo.

## Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly Views Security

*LD022250 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 2 Mar 88*

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina was today informed about the characteristic features of the activity of the internal and external enemy and about activities in socializing the area of security and protection in the republic in the course of last year. A report on this was submitted by Dusko Zgonjanin, member of the republic's executive council and the republic's secretary for internal affairs, at a joint session of the republican assembly's three chambers.

The assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina positively assessed the efforts by the organs and institutions of the system of social self-protection during last year and provided guidelines for further activities in socializing duties and tasks in this area.

Under the guise of a struggle to democratize social relations and further improve our sociopolitical system of socialist self-management, certain forces have been attacking from counterrevolutionary positions the fundamental achievements of the armed revolution and socialist development on which Yugoslavia, as a community of fraternal and equal nations and nationalities, is based, Dusko Zgonjanin said.

There have been attacks from public platforms and by sections of the information media on Yugoslavia's federal system and territorial integrity. Yugoslavia's territorial integration and secession of some parts of the country, the creation of various separatism-inspired entities, and the so-called pure national localities and rallying on a national basis are being advocated. Individual republics and provinces, our national identity, and even the existence of entire nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia are being negated, Zgonjanin said. Lately we have witnessed increasingly frequent attacks on the system of security and defense, on the Yugoslav People's Army and its commanding cadre, and, in Bosnia-Hercegovina, on the security service. It is clear that the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army and its officers and on the security services are aimed at weakening Yugoslavia's defense capability and its security. These attacks have nothing to do with well-meaning criticism of the political system and its functioning or with efforts toward further democratization in society. They are used as a smokescreen for counterrevolution the limit of whose consequences for the further course of our revolution and movement and for the country's security cannot be estimated unless our action to suppress and neutralize them is made more successful, Zgonjanin said.

Continuing his report Dusko Zgonjanin emphasized that there have been calls for Yugoslavia to be reorganized on the "SHS" [the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, created in 1918] model. But we know where that led us in the past and who is behind these calls. That is the model that gave birth to national hatred and fratricide. I think that we are all aware, as this has been happening before our very eyes, that these calls are a most blatant attack on the AVNOJ [war parliament in Yugoslavia] decisions, on the continuity of our revolution, and on the country's constitutional system. This has been used as a platform by our external and internal enemies to collude in their joint struggle against the SFRY.

Speaking before the Bosnia-Hercegovina assembly delegates about the activity of the external and internal enemy, Dusko Zgonjanin pointed out attempts to present the LCY and the institutions of the system as lacking the capacity to resolve problems confronting us. It is claimed that emergence from the crisis is not possible unless the constitutional system is changed and the LCY, as the leading ideopolitical force for the working class and our nations and nationalities, is eliminated. There are also increasing attempts to discredit the legal system, certain personalities, and even entire leaderships, from those in municipalities to those in the federation, and, by implication, the entire sociopolitical system of socialist self-management and even the LCY.

Individuals have been using public platforms and some sections of the public information media, Zgonjanin said, to refer blatantly and self-confidently to our leading cadres and leaderships as being an ignorant, incapable, compromised group or even thieves. It is even claimed

that the leading officials are the most hated level of society. In light of the attacks on the work and personality of Comrades Tito and Kardelj and on other glorious personalities of our revolution, we cannot but ask ourselves, not what is happening and what the outcome will be, but how to mobilize our subjective forces and thwart the enemy. Zgonjanin said that even some criminal cases have been used to foment nationalism and chauvinism. To this end various insinuations, untruths, and speculations about some events, including the Agrokomerc affair, were disseminated. Petitions with false names and forged signatures were used to give certain cases and character of scandal and to draw the top officials of both the republic and the federation into them. Unfortunately, these trumped-up cases have received the approval of and have been given publicity by some sections of the information media with the aim of dramatizing the situation as much as possible and of achieving various other goals and effects.

Dusko Zgonjanin continued his report by making reference to the results achieved in fighting economic crimes. He said that our material resources, as the economic basis of the system of socialist self-management, have been seriously threatened by individuals or organized groups. He noted that, last year, the security service in Bosnia-Hercegovina resorted to the measure of detention in only exceptional cases and against people who had committed most serious economic crimes. This happened to only 12 percent of the total number of people reported for economic or general crime.

There was not a single case of unlawful or unfounded detention on the part of the international affairs organs. This indicates that maximum attention is being paid to ensure that the law is being observed, Dusko Zgonjanin stressed.

For a number of years Bosnia-Hercegovina has been attacked from various quarters as a "dogmatized and Stalinist" environment. In order to prove these allegations, various researchers have been engaged to try and discover as many "excessive" cases as possible in Bosnia-Hercegovina and to give these certain dimensions in order to present the overall situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina as chaotic. To this end certain developments and events, which are also to be found in other parts of the country, are being exaggerated and new cases invented. Last year and during the first 2 months of this year the public information media outside Bosnia-Hercegovina carried more than 60 articles and even one film was made to prove alleged "abuses and violation of legal powers" etc. by the internal affairs organs and the security services in Bosnia-Hercegovina. These attacks are tendentious and beneath human dignity.

It is not uncommon to hear, Dusko Zgonjanin continued, the internal affairs organs being accused of nationalism and nationalist conduct depending on who the arrested perpatrators of crime are and what kind of measures have been taken against them. There have been several cases recently, such as those in Velika Kladusa, Mosevac, Milici, Miljevina, Sarajevo, and other places, where individuals or groups who have clashed with the law and incited workers and citizens to offer large-scale resistance to the security service, to make unfounded accusations, to write petitions, etc. This is being reported by some sections of the information media without checking the facts and with no critical attitude. Five commissions formed by the republican secretariat for internal affairs and that included our best and most professional operative and leading officials have provided full insight in the cases in Velika Kladusa, Mosevac, Vlasenica, Sarajevo, and Miljevina. Their conclusion is that the work of the internal affairs organs and the security service was carried out with the scope of their legal purview and that there were no violations or abuses of their legal powers. A written report about this will be sent to the Bosnia-Hercegovina assembly and relevant organs in the republic. This voluminous report will shed light on the real aims of this witchhunt and slanderous campaign against the internal affairs organs and the security service of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dusko Zgonjanin said.

### Former Agrokomerc Chairman, Others Indicted

*LD031407 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 3 Mar 88*

[Text] Bihac, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—Fikret Abdic, former chairman of the Board of Management of the Agrokomerc composite organization of associated labor, has been indicted for the criminal act of counterrevolutionary endangering of socially owned property. Seven of his "associates" will be charged with counterrevolutionary threats against the social system and four others with the criminal act of seriously abusing their powers in the economy.

The Bihac Higher Public Prosecutor's Office announced today that the indictment has been sent to the Bihac higher court. The indictment has been brought against these 12 people for issuing unsecured promissory notes and false telex orders.

### Tool Factory Workers Hold Work Stoppage

*LD262026 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Trebinje, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Workers of the first shift at the basic organization of associated labor for the production of gauges and threaded tools at the Trebinje Tool Factory work organization, 700 in total, held a work stoppage this morning, expressing dissatisfaction with the level of their personal incomes, which were paid yesterday. The average net personal income for last month was 167,000 dinars. At an extraordinary meeting the workers' demand for an increase in personal incomes was not accepted because, it was stressed, the personal incomes were distributed in accordance with existing regulations on distribution, and their reduction was affected by the nonfulfillment of the production plan at the basic organization of associated labor.

## NOTES